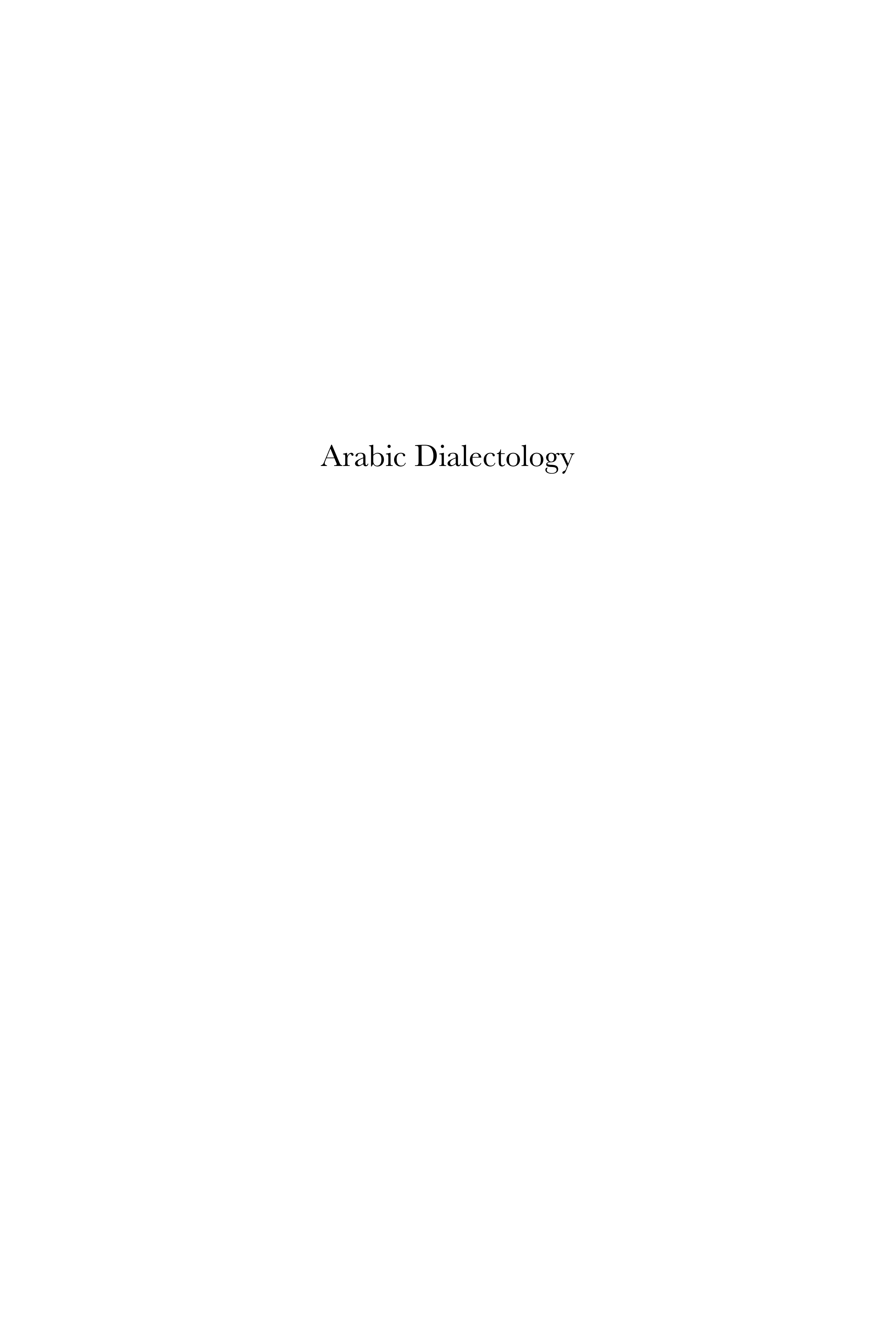
Arabic Dialectology

IN HONOUR OF CLIVE HOLES
ON THE OCCASION
OF HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

EDITED BY

ENAM AL-WER AND RUDOLF DE JONG

BRILL



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Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics

Edited by

T. Muraoka and C.H.M. Versteegh

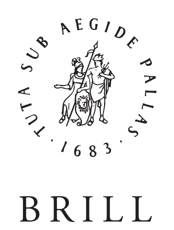
VOLUME 53

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LEIDEN • BOSTON
2009

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Arabic dialectology : in honour of Clive Holes on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday / edited by Enam Al-Wer and Rudolf de Jong.
p. cm. — (Studies in Semitic languages and linguistics ; v. 53)
Includes a bibliography of Clive Holes' published works.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-17212-8 (hardback : alk. paper)
1. Arabic language—Dialects. 2. Sociolinguistics—Arab countries. I. Al-Wer, Enam. II. Jong, Rudolf de. III. Holes, Clive, 1948- IV. Title. V. Series.

PJ6709.A76 2009
492.7'7--dc22

2009014371

ISSN 0081-8461
ISBN 978 90 04 172128

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The contributors to this volume have supported this project at short notice from its inception and throughout. We thank them wholeheartedly for their academic spirit and generosity.

Not many people get a poem for their birthday. Hats off to Sa'id for composing a splendid poem and for making this tribute to Clive truly special.

From the University of Essex, we thank Mike Jones for his helpful suggestions and support.

We are also very grateful to the series editor, Kees Versteegh, who has been, as always, generous with his time and insightful in his comments.

From Brill we thank Liesbeth Kanis for her efficiency in dealing with many complications, and for her help and patience.

It is customary to leave one extra special thank you to the end line. In this case it goes to Deidre. According to Sa'id's poem "Deidre has knocked thirty years off Clive's age". We agree with him, of course, and would like to add our heartfelt gratitude for her help with editing and supplying material. We thank her also for responding promptly and discretely to our emails and phone calls, while Clive remained blissfully ignorant!

INTRODUCTION

Arabic Dialectology is a collection of articles written by leading scholars and distinguished young researchers. In print, they come together to pay homage to Clive Holes on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. As befits the honouree's contributions and interests, the collection covers a wide spectrum of the field of Arabic linguistics and linguistics in general.

Clive's earliest research on Arabic, in the late 1970's, was in sociolinguistics, specifically in Labovian variationist sociolinguistics, as it is nowadays known. At the time, sociolinguistics was certainly thriving, but sociolinguists were still thin on the ground. In Europe, the Labovian approach took a leap forward at the hands of one of the contributors in this volume, Peter Trudgill, whose study of his beloved hometown has made the English city of Norwich itself almost a part of sociolinguistics. Not many places earn this privilege, but just over a decade after the Norwich Study, and thousands of miles away from England, a tiny island in the Arabian Gulf was given equal prominence in sociolinguistic research, this time at the hands of Clive Holes, then an 'alien' researcher in the State. Clive's research on language variation and change in Bahrain is the first work on Arabic dialects which is variationist 'to the core', executed with the passion of an ethnographer and the knowledge of an insider. His take on variation in Arabic has lent a fresh and realistic perspective to the subject. As such, his work in the field has not only led but also shaped subsequent studies on Arabic dialects.

In his research, Clive is a true nomad, but unlike the nomad ancestors of the people in whom he is interested, he has ventured into new land while the old ground was still abundant. This journey has led him to many other areas which he has made fertile: language manuals, descriptive grammars, historical linguistics, culture and society and, most recently, popular literature and poetry. His work throughout has remained grounded in field linguistics, exploratory, locally focused and socially sensitive.

His research on popular literature and Bedouin poetry gives centre stage to deserving poets working undercover. In addition to documenting a wealth of vocabulary and structures, folklore, local values

and local traditions, it ingeniously uncovers a 4,000-year old literary link going back to Sumerian. Vanquished by the modern Arab society, much of this cultural heritage has been unfairly consigned to oblivion, while the rest is being continually eroded.

Outside academia, Clive's work on contemporary Bedouin poetry, satirising current international politics has been cited in the media. "An Oxford don's research into traditional poetry seems an unlikely place for George Galloway[1] to crop up. But he is, professor Clive Holes has discovered, the subject of a stirring verse tribute from a Bedouin tribesman", writes Maev Kennedy in The Guardian (12 February 2008), with a picture of a jubilant Galloway and the caption 'Inscribed in the annals of honour his name!' taken from Clive's translation of al Hajaya's poem *An Ode to George Galloway*. His analyses of Bedouin poetry uncover a wealth of adversarial satirists whose poems are a biting satire on society and politics in the Arab Middle East; such poems could not have been published in Arab countries. To the Arab reader, the poems are enjoyable and funny, often *painfully* so in their original text, but in many parts they are incomprehensible without Clive's decoding, as one of the editors, a native speaker of Arabic with Bedouin roots, can testify. In one of his articles, Clive astutely describes popular poetry as an exercise of "free speech in the modern Arab World".

Keeping to the traditional metre and rhymes, Clive reproduces Bedouin poetry with its dry wit transposing its imagery to make it accessible to the English-speaking reader. As an example, we cite some verses from *Yā Kundalīzza Rāys*! (Hey Condoleezza Rice)[2]. In this poem, George W. Bush is the speaker; Clive renders the poem in the Texan dialect:

> Mah mood's good, y'all, on mah lips a smile is crackin'
> Ah'm really in high spirits 'cos the bad guys we sent packin'!
> Say, Powell, come here, 'n fetch some liquor in a flagon!
> And Rumsfeld get a flautist (Ah ain't stayin' on the wagon!),
> An' hire a rebec-player—from the Gulf where they like singin',
> Where the desert A-rabs nod an' to mah ev'ry word they're clingin'

[1] George Galloway is the British MP for Bethnal Green and Bow, known particularly for his opposition of the Iraq war. The poem by al-Hajaya was written following Galloway's win in the 2005 elections.

[2] Published (with S. Abu Athera) 'George Bush, Bedouin Poet', 2007. The poem was composed in late 2003 by the poet M. F. al-Hajaya when it seemed the Americans had won the Iraq war.

> Bring some gin with y'all, and some whisky and some beer,
> With good ole Condoleezza: bring 'em all over here!

As epitomised in Clive's publications, true scientific research reflects a mixture of fascination for the subject, an eye for detail and a thirst for knowledge. If Arabic culture is a well in a dry land, then the study of the Arabic language is the rope and pail to quench one's thirst. Not only the thirst to research the Arabic language, but also to discover the mechanics of language in general and, perhaps even more so, to understand the culture of a people by which one was drawn to that well in the first place.

Clive knows that anyone striving to understand what 'makes the Arab mind tick' should first of all be able to communicate with Arabs. To achieve this, reading books about Islam and newspaper articles on current events in the Arab world is simply not enough. One should first and foremost be able to truly communicate with people: listen, and then answer… in Arabic, of course! Only this can be a sound basis for understanding a culture, which is still viewed by many as highly 'exotic'. Indeed, Clive's interests go deeper than the study of the Arabic language alone. This language is the key to a world of culture, of which its popular manifestations have caught his heart as well.

Discussing linguistics with Clive is always much more than a dry exchange of ideas on language. The same lively interaction that characterises the language that is discussed, also typifies the nature of the exchange of ideas itself. And we remember many a time when these exchanges were far from dry!

The contributions in this book from outside the field of Arabic linguistics reflect the growing realisation of the importance to linguistics of engaging with the insights from Arabic data in linguistics. There can be no doubt that this promising endeavour is in large part a result of Clive's publications over the past three decades.

Apart from his own academic achievements, Clive has been unstinting in his support for others, through his encouragement of young researchers to his outspoken advocacy of fairness in access to education.

As editors, we are indeed pleased to have gathered together the most distinguished of scholars in this collection to bring a fitting tribute to Clive Holes as a highly acclaimed linguist, a distinguished

professor and a Fellow of the British Academy. But, most of all we were driven by the wish to honour a precious friend.

The book begins with a poem, composed especially for the occasion by Clive's friend and associate, the poet Said Abu Athera. We apologise for not providing a translation of this poem, but we felt that nobody but Clive could do it justice!

Enam and Rudolf
Colchester–Amsterdam

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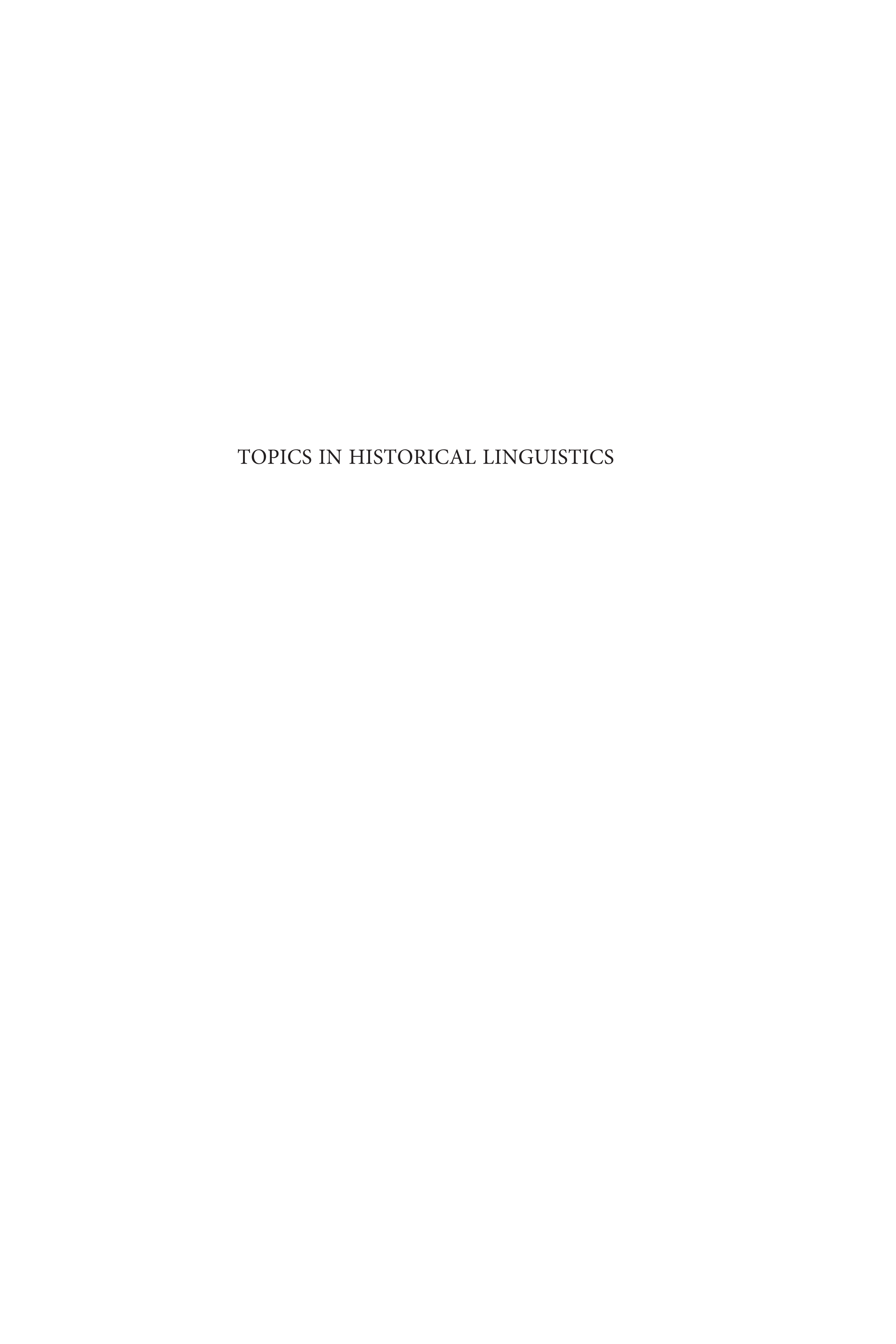
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في عيد ميلادك

سعيد سلمان ابوعاذره

يا راكبٍ من عندنا فوق صافي ساسه أصيل ومن ركاب الترابين
مدام قلبي صار يرجف ارجافي اعطيك انا يا خوي كل العناوين
بلّغ سلامي انعام والقول كافي امغلفٍ في عطر زهر البساتين
بمناسبة عيد الصديق السنافي اللي بلغ بالعمر بحدود ستين
ناديت شيطان ٍ بالاشعار شافي قام يتدلل بدَّل الجر تنوين
وشنيّت غارة في حروف القوافي وطوَّعتها بابيات شعر ٍ مزايين
وبيَّحت بالمعنى جميع الخوافي وارتاح بالي قمت اغني تلاحين
يالله يا عالم خفا كل خافي تحفظ كلايف من عيون الحسودين
وعساه يقظي كل عمره عوافي وكله سعادة في كتاب الدواوين
يا كلايف جاني كامل العلم وافي انعام قالت لي وجابت براهين
كلامها يا كلايف جدي وجافي ما فيه غنج ولا يشجع محبين
ما قالت انها تشرب الكاس صافي كاس يحرك خامدات الشرايين
ودنا نجيك بجو هادي ودافي و نشعل شموع الفرح والناس غافين
ونشرب وننسى كل هم اضافي ونرقص على الانغام بين المحبين
ستين مرَّن يا كريم الملافي مرَّن سراع وكنهن رمشة العين
مع دي عمرك صار مابه خلافي ماراختصر يا كلايف منه ثلاثين
بالود عاشرها وزين الولافي والحر ما يقطع احبال الوفيين
واسرعت في سفرة مابها كلافي كيف ما اشارك مع وجيه النديين
واشكر انعام ودي وآني وياتي رودلف ومن ساهم في حفلنا الزين
ومبروك عيدك يالصديق السنافي كلمات من جوف الظماير ايحيين



TOPICS IN HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

INDETERMINACY AND THE COMPARATIVE METHOD: ARABIC AS A MODEL FOR UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY OF ARAMAIC

Jonathan Owens

1. Introduction

Historical linguistics seeks not only to render plausible reconstructions of earlier stages of a language, but also to localize postulated developments within specific times and places. Semitic languages offer a rich challenge to historical linguistics in the latter respect precisely because a number of its members are attested either over long periods of time or over broad geographical areas, or both. Applying the comparative method, the basic analytic tool of historical linguistics, to them potentially allows a detailed testing of its applicative generality. One issue is how temporally precise, or determinate, solutions suggested by the comparative method are. This question is addressed here, using Aramaic as the language of study, and Arabic as a language of analogical support.[1]

2. Proto-Semitic *ð in Aramaic

The issue can be set out on the basis of an article of scholarly richness, Driver (1926) approached the question of the chronological dating of the Book of Daniel. The Book of Daniel, along with Ezra, is of special interest for Aramaicists and Semiticists because about half of Daniel of the Hebrew Bible is written in Aramaic and hence it is one of the earliest extensive sources about Aramaic. Daniel himself was a Jewish counselor in the Babylonian court of Nebuchadnezzar who reigned between 605-562 BCE, hence dating the text is of considerable interest. Driver's conclusion that the text of Daniel was written down in its current form around 300 BCE against suggestions

[1] As in Holes 1991, the bulk of the Arabic data comes from application of the comparative method to contemporary varieties of Arabic. Classical Arabic plays only a background role.

that the language of Daniel is from the era of the Biblical Daniel, has now been generally been accepted (Collins 1993:16). The interest for Driver's work here is not the issue of textual dating, but rather the type of evidence he adduces to justify it, in particular one issue regarding the realization of proto-Semitic *ð in Aramaic as z or d.[2]

The main sources Driver uses, besides the Biblical Aramaic (BA) of Daniel and Ezra are the Aramaic papyri from Egypt, dating from the early fifth century BCE. Collectively these sources are a fairly uniform variety included within what is sometimes termed Official Aramaic (Reichsaramäisch). Driver's remarkable attention to detail allows one to interpret his data independently of his own conclusions. His own are as follows.

According to Driver, Biblical Aramaic and/or the papyri had on a variational basis /z/ and /d/ as reflexes of */ð/, as in (1).

(1) znā ~ dnā "this (masc.)"
zhaḇ ~ dhaḇ "gold"
ziy ~ diy "relative clause/possessor marker"

These two reflexes are also found in the Egyptian papyri. Using careful quantitative observations, Driver notes that the earlier Ezra contained more z ~ d variation than did Daniel, with d becoming nearly categorical in Daniel.[3] In the papyri there is a similar decrease in variation over time in favor of d. Driver further points out that other changes in Aramaic tend to correlate with the move from z to d, for instance, variation in the reflex of proto-Semitic *ð̥ as q ~ ʕ in earlier Aramaic (arq ~ arʕ "land") in favor of ʕ in later, including Daniel (1926:113).

Driver went beyond noting the synchronic alternation in these varieties, arguing that there was a linear sequence in Aramaic language history, *ð > z > d. He explicitly rejects the idea that the original split was simultaneous:

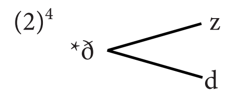
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[2] Names of letter or graphemes are written in quotation marks, or are represented in the original script, their phonological realization in italics. "Historical" in this paper usually refers to "attested in a written source in the main script of the relevant language". Historical Aramaic thus begins in the tenth century BCE, from which era the first inscriptions derive (with caveats implicit in n. 5). The history of Aramaic, of course, is older than this.

I would note that the history of proto-Semitic *θ probably runs parallel to *ð, though this sound requires treatment of its own.

[3] In his 1926 article, Driver simply speaks of the two values, ז "z" and ד "d", without specifying a phonetic value for them. That he saw these as phonetically different from and reflexes of proto-Semitic *ð is clear throughout his paper, as when he notes "… although both ז and ד represent an original *dh* (ذ) …" (1926: 113).

(2)[4]

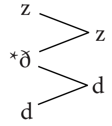


He argues against this by noting a chronological transition in the papyri where z in the relative marker is first attested in 495 BCE, d not until 447. By 400 BCE d had fully gained the upper hand. Driver further dismisses an inscription from the early ninth century BCE with d as a scribal error. Assyrian scribes mistakenly wrote in Akkadian Addi-idri in place of the intended Hadad-ʕezer, the name of the king of Damascus. It can also be noted in this context that eventually, e.g. in Syriac and in Samaritan Aramaic, as well as in modern varieties, the d variant did completely supplant z, so the endpoint of Driver's sequence is at least correct.

Against Driver's conclusion on this point, it is in fact easy to motivate the very interpretation which Driver rejects, namely the simultaneous development of z and d as in (2). Today it is generally accepted that speech communities and individuals in them can say exactly the "same" conceptual thing in different ways. Holes (1987), for instance, notes a series of phonological and morphophonological variants among the Arabic-speaking communities of Bahrain, sometimes one and the same speaker using different variants of the same form. Alternations such as darasat ~ dirsat "she studied", ykitbūn ~ yiktubūn "they write" are richly described and explained, both in terms of group-based and individual variation. Within Aramaic d ~ z variation is attested over a long period of time, beginning with Biblical Aramaic and still present in Nabataean in 100 CE (Cantineau 1930:41). Muraoka and Porten (2003S:4) note that "d" (ד) is in fact attested around 500 BCE in the Egyptian papyri, though confirming Driver, note that it increases relative to ז over the century.

The least plausible element of Diver's explanation is its phonetic implausibility. The change from z to d is itself unmotivated. It is even less so in that in Aramaic d and z have an etymologically independent status from *ð–derived reflexes of z ~ d. BA dbaq "adhere to" and

[4] For the sake of orientation it is relevant to note that this change represents a merger, *z and *d being independent proto-Semitic phonemes:



zman “time”, for instance, derive from *d and *z. Why all *ð-derived reflexes of z, and only these, should suddenly merge with d is not explained. An extended coexistence of the two variants and an eventual complete merging, as in Syriac, in favor of d is in line with standard variational-historical linguistic teaching.

Driver’s linearly-orientated explanation for the development of proto-Semitic *ð in Aramaic is thus untenable.

Driver’s interpretation has not stood the test of time, yet there are elements of his explanation which need to be given greater attention in a broader account of the development of proto-Semitic *ð in Aramaic. Contemporary Aramaic studies offer another interpretation of the grapheme “z” (ז) in Old[5] and Official Aramaic. Among Aramaicists it is usually assumed that early Aramaic had ð, deriving from PS *ð, which then developed into d. Segert (1997:117), echoing Degen (1969:34) notes that the “letter z was used for both the sibilant /z/ and interdental /ð/”, so that Segert postulates ð (and θ) in Old Aramaic (1997:119).[6] Huehnergard (1995:268) suggests that Old Aramaic ð was written with the phonetically-closest letter, namely “z”. Kaufman (1974:117) sees the change ð > d as occurring at the end of the Old Aramaic period.

Garr (1985:26) gives a basis for the postulation of proto-Aramaic *ð even in the absence of graphemic evidence. Both come from developments which occurred in Official Aramaic. The reflex d in Official Aramaic could only have occurred from ð. This is an implicit rejection of Driver’s z > d development. In Garr’s interpretation, as with Huehnergard and Kaufman, Old Aramaic graphemic “z” represented derivates of both etymological proto-Semitic *z and etymological proto-Semitic *ð. These are interpreted as distinctive phonemes, both in proto-Semitic, and in the earlier stages of Aramaic. The development is thus:

(3) PS > OA > Official Aramaic
*ð > ð > d

[5] Roughly, Old Aramaic (Früharamäisch) is the stage before Official Aramaic, approximately 1000 BCE—800 or 600 BCE (Degen 1965: 1). Terminology and dating of Aramaic varieties varies from scholar to scholar and indeed, when “Aramaic” as a linguistic entity should be recognized is a matter of debate (see Huehnergard 1995). In any case, extensive historical sources are not found before 1000 BCE

[6] Segert in an earlier work (1975: 91) considers, but does not adopt, the possibility that the split of proto-Semitic *ð took place in the Aramaic pre-historic period.

In this view, there was no change *ð > z, only *ð > d. This interpretation currently appears to be the dominant view among Aramaicists (Kaufman, Huehnergard, Muraoka and Porten, Folmer 1995:49).

Garr does give a second alternative. *ð did split into d and z, but at different times and places. The development of d, as in the Egyptian papyri and Biblical Aramaic is explicable if *ð had survived into a later era, whereas the z of Old Aramaic inscriptions developed earlier. This alternative is basically represented in (2) above.

While Driver's *ð > z > d must be regarded as implausible, so far as I know, which alternative, (2) or (3) above, is the better one has not been extensively debated. As seen, solution (3) has currency today among Aramaicists. Here I would like to take up this question, and in so doing resurrect one important assumption in Driver's interpretation, namely that proto-Semitic *ð did indeed have a phonetic value of z in early Aramaic.

There are, in fact, two issues to be dealt with. The first is whether (2) or (3) better represents Aramaic language history. This is the basic question. The second deals with the era in which d and z arose, if at all, from *ð. As well as observations from within Aramaic, I will underpin my arguments with analogical arguments from Arabic and Semitic in general, and from variationist theory.

2. Did Aramaic *ð > z Occur?

2.1. *Orthography*

As seen in (3), many Aramaicists do not postulate a change *ð > z at all. However, a literalist interpretation of Aramaic orthography requires this interpretation, since ז after all has minimally, by common consent the phonetic value of z. I think the literalist interpretation is correct.

To begin with, that d < *ð occurred in Old Aramaic is attested in Driver's 'scribal error', described above, and in at least one token in an Aramaic text in the 7th/6th century (Segert 1975:92). Equally, ז occurs in various Aramaic sources all the way into Nabataean times (Collins 1993:16, Cantineau 1930:41). A contemporarily-occurring d ~ z variation, or from the perspective of the original sources, a ז ~ ד variation in the same etymological lexical set, is thus attested over 1,000 years of Aramaic language history.

No one to my knowledge has argued that ז = ð obtains throughout this period. Instead, later occurrences of ז, for instance in Nabataean (Cantineau 1930:41, citing an inscription from 290 CE in the Hijaz) are held to be fossilized orthographic reflexes.

The argument for fossilization I believe is introduced as a deus ex machina required on independent linguistic grounds, which weaken the case for the assumption of original ז = ð. The background to this is as follows (see Muraoka and Porten:5). Beginning sometime in the Official Aramaic period a linguistic change set in which the (non-geminate) stops b, g, d, k, p, t spirantized after a vowel, this pronunciation being represented here with an underscore, ḇ g̱ ḏ ḵ p̱ ṯ, and by lack of a dot in the letter in the Aramaic script. While the argument is not well-articulated, it is clear that if Vd > Vḏ occurred by, say 400 BCE, then a first century BCE text with ז = ð (Collins 1993:14) cannot be held to represent ð, since by this time ð is an allophonic (post-vocalic) variant of d. If "z" did represent ð, why wouldn't it be used as the post-vocalic variant Vð? Furthermore, if ð in the Official Aramaic period had two sources, one from original proto-Semitic *ð, as described above and represented as "z" (ז), and one from the new post-vocalic spirantization rule and represented as "ḏ" (ד), one would have a remarkable case of a phonetic merger held apart by etymological convention.

To save the situation, the idea of graphemic fossilization is introduced. ז does not represent ð in later occurrences, but rather a fossilized variant which originated as a representation of ð, but by later times occurs only as a lexicalized convention.

A graphemic fossilization which extended over at least 600 years of language history (say 400 BCE–200 CE) is decidedly odd in Semitic languages, however. In general in Semitic consonantal scripts individual phonemes are represented by distinctive letters. Where there is a many to one mismatch, as in the early Arabic script, it tends to be quickly rectified. As soon as Arabic began to be widely used as a language of writing, it developed distinguishing points for consonants, such as "د", originally representing both d and ð giving rise to د and ذ. This disambiguation took place within the first century of Islam, even if full implementation took longer.

It might of course be argued that a certain degree of diglossia allowed such graphemic fossilization to be maintained. This seems to me to be the only general condition which could sustain the sug-

gestion. The issue of diglossia in Aramaic requires separate consideration, though from the outset comparisons with Arabic diglossia (Huehnergard 1995:275 n. 37) appear to me to be misplaced. Certainly it needs to be motivated independently of those linguistic issues which diglossia is invoked to explain. Here it can only be noted that in general Aramaic is a "reform-orientated" language, with different varieties utilizing and developing separate scripts (e.g. eastern vs. western), and different varieties indicating local linguistic changes in their orthography. The strong influence of Samaritan Hebrew on Samaritan Aramaic, for instance, noted extensively by Macuch (1982:78-128), is apparent from the available sources. Why only ז < ð should consistently fossilize is thus unclear.

Again invoking a parallel from Arabic, in Middle Arabic texts, such as Galland's edition of 1001 Nights there is variation between ð ~ d, as in hāði ~ hādi[7] "this (sg. fem.)", which is transparently due to actual pronunciation. ð is the Classical Arabic norm, whereas d represents the Syrian dialect which underlay Galland's edition (Mahdi 1984). No one has suggested that d in a word like hādi represents anything other than itself.

It is also interesting to note, that given the often assumed strong Nabataean influence on the creation of the North Arabic script, the Arabic script never chose "z" to represent ð. In Nabataean, however, given the "z" = ð interpretation, such a model would have been present (as in Cantineau 1930:41, cited above).

Taking these observations together, the lack of orthographic "ð" in Aramaic means simply there is no *ð attested in the language (until the b, g, d, k, p, t spirantization). If Old Aramaic did in fact have ð it would at some point have distinguished it orthographically.

2.2. *Language Variation and Change*

Given (2), with two values of proto-Semitic *ð, d and z, the *variation* described in Official Aramaic by Driver in section 1 above is entirely in keeping with what is known about variation in language communities. In Arabic there have been numerous studies documenting the synchronic maintenance of competing variants from a number

[7] For instance, on p. 197 five tokens of *d* in *hādih* (spelled *hdh).*

of Arabic-speaking regions. Holes (1987) on Bahraini Arabic cited above, describes communal contact which, until very recent times, appears to have supported variational stability across very different contact varieties over at least 200 years (see also Abdel Jawad 1981, Owens 1998, Al-Wer 2003 for further). Evidence from Arabic in 2.4 below will confirm that multiple reflexes of an originally unitary phoneme can co-exist over very long periods of time. While Driver's historical linguistic conclusions are suspect, his careful variationist reading of the data, with different graphemic variants representing different pronunciations, is entirely plausible.

2.3. *Proto-Semitic*

The change of *ð > z is well attested in Semitic. It is, in fact, the rule. All Ethiopic Semitic has it, Akkadian does, and so does Hebrew, the closest, well-attested sister of Aramaic. Indeed, given other highly characteristic shared retentions or shared innovations with Hebrew (*p, *š, *x > ħ, *γ > ʕ, etc.), it would almost have been perverse for Aramaic not to have shared, initially at least, in the ð > z shift. Furthermore, the innovations shared with Hebrew are early ones, very likely (in the view taken in this paper) in the pre-historic era ("historical" in the sense of n. 2). The *ð > z/d change equally fits into an early spectrum of change in NW Semitic.

2.4. *Parallels in Arabic*

Arabic is one of the few Semitic languages to have maintained proto-Semitic *ð > ð up to the present day. It has, however, not done so uniformly across all varieties. Reflexes of *ð are, broadly, as follows.

> *ð > ð, Eastern Arabia, Yemen and Persian Gulf, Iraq, Eastern Libya, occasionally in North Africa (e.g. Tunisia, Mauretania)
> d, Egypt, Sudan, Jedda, Damascus, North Africa
> z, Uzbekistan, Anatolia (Azex, Jastrow 1978:36-7))
> v, Anatolia (Siirt)
> d̻ (ð̻ > d̻ ?), Western Sudanic Arabic

The reflex ḍ found in Western Sudanic Arabic perhaps arises via an emphatic variant of *ð, as occurs in a number of Arabic dialects (e.g. Jordanian hāð̻a "this") and by this reckoning could be conjoined

with the ð > d change. Whatever the origin, it will not be considered further here.

On a geographical basis maintenance of the proto form *ð > ð is the most widespread, followed by d, with z and even more so v being restricted. The presence of z in Uzbekistan Arabic (Central Asian Arabic) is significant on historical grounds, as this variety forms a Sprachinsel which was cut off from the rest of the Arabic-speaking world by the end of the eighth century. The existence of the same reflex in Anatolia suggests an early common origin. Assuming this early origin, along with its continued existence today, this reflex has existed for some 1,200 years (at a minimum), co-terminously with ð. Note that this time span is approximately the same as the proposed co-existence of the d ~ z reflexes of *ð in the Aramaic up to Nabataean times.

The development of present-day distributions can be modeled using the wave representation of language change (e.g. Bailey 1973). In Diagram 1, the numbers in the top row represent historical linguistic stages, the rows representing dialectal variants. Roughly speaking, the present-day situation is as in step 3. Steps 4 and 5 are future hypothetical developments, as will be discussed presently.[8]

Diagram 1. "ð" in Arabic, past, present and hypothetical future

1	2	3	4	5
ð	ð	ð	ð	d
ð	ð	ð	d	d
ð	ð	d	d	d
ð	d	d	d	d
ð	v	v	v	v
ð	z	z	z	z

At some point, some ð speakers innovated to v, z, and d.[9] I assume that the changes to v and z were roughly at the same time, as they

[8] Note that there is no need here to cite Classical Arabic *ð* as justification of an original proto-Arabic *ð. This follows, I believe by inspection, from the reflexes of the forms in present-day Arabic (roughly, stage 4). Of course, it is relevant that Classical Arabic (*ð)* does not contradict this reconstruction.

[9] Or, Arabic acquired speakers who substituted for *ð.

It cannot be ruled out that the merger of *ð with *d* in some dialects of Arabic wasn't due in part to sub- or adstratal influence from Aramaic. Given the "naturalness" of the change, however, proving this is probably impossible, and in any case does not affect the theoretical point being made.

are attested only in contiguous areas. I also assume that at least the change to z occurred early (by 800 CE), to account for the Uzbekistan-Anatolia isogloss.

As noted, Step 3 is roughly where the distributions of the forms are today in geographical terms, though if one were representing the distributions to scale, the z and v reflexes would be quite small. There is no certainty that after Step 3, Step 4 will ensue. It is true that local changes of ð > d are attested, for instance in the Arabic of Amman and in Bethlehem Arabic (Al-Wer p.c. 2007,[10] Amara 2005), though it remains to be seen whether this change will spread throughout the region.

Nonetheless, steps 4 and 5 are added in order to make the analogy to Aramaic concrete. Hypothetically, step 4 could occur, and as noted in the previous paragraph, if ð does change, it changes to d in the contemporary Arabic world. Step 5 would be the final change of ð to d and at this stage no more ð reflexes would remain. The analogy to Aramaic is clear, and indeed, the fact that a nearly identical change did go to completion in Aramaic lends speculative concreteness to our stages 4 and 5. Step 1 represents a proto-Semitic origin, and from step 2 innovations begin, with *ð merging in some variants or dialects of the language. Our hypothetical Step 5 represents either (2) or (3) above, the endpoint of a merger that has finally moved across the entire language community.

Returning now to the major problem, whether (2) or (3) best represents the linguistic history of *ð, on the basis of our analogical reasoning, between (2) and (3), the relevant analogy with Arabic is (2). In Arabic *ð has ultimately split into d, z and v. This produces a nearly perfect parallel with (2), the only difference being that no v variant is attested in Aramaic. This interpretation-by-analogy

[10] Al-Wer (p.c.) notes that Amman Arabic is decisively influenced by migration from West Bank Palestinians and from rural Jordanian speakers. Urban Palestinian dialects have d as a reflex of *ð, but Jordanians generally have ð. Currently in Amman developments are moving in the direction of the stop variant d, aligning Amman with Damascus and Beirut. Nonetheless, Al-Wer (p.c.) notes "… that evidence of the pre-merger state will be present for a very long time since the split state of affairs continues to be the majority form in the country as a whole (although crucially not so in the large urban centres); relic forms, not from the Standard, will always be found in Amman in the future".

The parallel with the current data is clear: alternative variants of the same proto-form can subsist side by side over long periods of time.

combines Driver's variationist z ~ d stage, with contemporary Aramaicists' derivation of all reflexes from ð.

Our hypothetical example from Diagram 1 further allows us to clarify and criticize the reasoning behind the alleged development in (3) above.

i. Let us assume a situation where stage 5 is now the contemporary stage and in this stage there is a one-to-one graphemic-phonemic mapping, hence "d" = *d*, "v" = *v* and "z" = *z*.
ii. Further, assume that stage 5 reflexes lead to a reconstruction of *ð, from which all varieties attested in stage 5 derive.
iii. Further assume that the only older surviving sources are those of a form of Middle Arabic where etymological *ð is written only as *d* (e.g. only *haadih*, as in n. 7).

Given the hypothetical contemporary (stage 5) reflexes d, v, z, one might be led to assume that our Middle Arabic "d" was used to represent both etymological d , and the reconstructed ancestor *ð of d ~ v ~ z, i.e. one would claim that the scribes used "d" for both d and ð. But in our controlled thought train, we know that this conclusion would be erroneous. The surviving token of d in fact represented only Middle Arabic "d" = d.

My claim for understanding Old Aramaic "z" is similar. Aramaicists have simply worked in the opposite direction from the reasoning given in the previous paragraph (see Owens 2006:21 for similar cases among Arabicists). Given the existence of proto-Semitic *ð, they conjecture that "z" represented the "earlier" proto-form ð. However, there is no guarantee that this inference is any more correct than the patently incorrect inference outlined in the previous paragraph that Middle Arabic d represented more than one value. Instead, it is equally likely that "z" represented something else; for instance, itself, z.

There is a further lesson for the interpretation of the Aramaic developments that can be derived from our extended analogy with Arabic. Assuming stage 5 is reached, *ð is available only via reconstruction since it is not attested in the contemporary community. Changing assumption iii. above for the sake of illustration, assume that by stage 5 no direct evidence for ð survived in our records of Arabic, either in written attestations or in the dialectal and sociolinguistic studies which attest to its presence today. In this situation, nothing comparable to Middle Arabic is available. It would be impossible to prove the step-by-step development of the loss of ð as

represented in Diagram 1. A development such as the following is only a logical possibility. Diagram 2 essentially is (2) above, with an added stage 2 in between. This represents Garr's second suggestion, that ð > z/d at different times.

Diagram 2. Possible development of d and z in Aramaic

1	2	3
ð	ð	d
ð	z	z

Diagram 2 could be inferred out of general theoretical assumptions certainly, and by our analogy with incontrovertible facts of Arabic, represented in Diagram 1. However, Garr's second suggestion, that *ð existed as a dialectal variant, along with z (< *ð) is not supported by any direct evidence in the historical record.

Diagram 2 is situated in comparative linguistic time, not in chronological time. Where should Diagram 2 (or the split represented in (2) above) be situated historically? Given the lack of any direct evidence for ð within the historical Aramaic era (beginning the tenth century BCE), it can be concluded that Aramaic entered the historical era in stage 3 (Diagram 2), which is equally the endpoint of the split represented in (2) above.

In the final analysis, the indeterminacy of the comparative method can be constrained by our considerations here, but the constraints are rather lax. If stage 2 in Diagram 2 occurred, it is inferred only indirectly. When stage 3 occurred is uncertain. At a certain point, all historical linguistic conclusions become inferential. I believe that the best interpretation of the data is the representation in (2), that *ð split into z and d in a pre-historical period. Variational theory easily supports the maintenance of z ~ d reflexes over long periods of time thereafter, and the split itself is sanctioned by a sober and straightforward reading of Aramaic orthography, as well as by application of the comparative method. Furthermore, analogies with a nearly identical development in Arabic, along with an extended but plausible hypothetical scenario for a future development of Arabic helps us to better conceptualize the competing interpretations, and all in all lend credence to the interpretation proposed here.

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FROM *qəltu* TO *gələt*: DIACHRONIC NOTES ON LINGUISTIC ADAPTATION IN MUSLIM BAGHDAD ARABIC

Heikki Palva

1. Introduction

Since Haim Blanc's *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* (1964), it is a well-known fact that the dialects spoken in Baghdad can be divided into three communal groups, corresponding to the speakers' religious affiliation. The dialect of the Muslims (MB) belongs to the so-called *gələt* group of Mesopotamian Arabic, whereas the dialects of the Jews[1] (JB) and the Christians (CB) belong to the *qəltu* group. Historically, JB and CB are regarded as direct descendants of medieval Iraqi Arabic, whereas the present-day MB with its numerous Bedouin-type traits clearly diverges from it.

As a *gələt* dialect MB is often classified as a dialect of Bedouin type, or being of Bedouin provenance.[2] These are of course rather impressionistic notions based on a number of linguistic variables the relative typological significance of which depends on the adopted standpoint.[3] Thus, in comparison with *qəltu* dialects, most differences displayed by MB are undeniably of Bedouin type, but if MB is compared

[1] The Jewish community in Baghdad was relatively big: most Jews left Iraq in 1950-51 and are now settled in Israel. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Jews and Christians lived in their ancient quarters north and west of *Sūq al-Ghazl* respectively, while the population of al-Karkh was mainly Muslim Arabs (Duri 1960:907). In 1884 there were 30,000 Jews in Baghdad, by the beginning of the 20th century 50,000, and ca. 100,000 Jews after World War Two. http://www.bh.org.il/Communities/Archive/Baghdad.asp 15.11.2007.

[2] "Bedouin-type dialects, such as are spoken in southern Iraq including Baghdad…" Holes 1995:57; "*gələt* Arabic is of Bedouin provenance, unlike Christian Baghdadi…" Abu-Haidar 2006a:222.

[3] The relevance of all linguistic classifications depends on the aim as well as the criteria applied. If the interest is purely synchronic, the classifications can be made on the basis of an adequate selection of synchronically well-documented linguistic variables for each dialect or group of dialects, without consideration of diachronic and extralinguistic criteria. If the interest is focused on cultural and historical points of view, diachronic and comparative data play a crucial role (Palva 2006:604).

with Bedouin dialects of *ʿAnazī* or *Šammarī*, or even of the *šāwiya* type, its sedentary profile would become apparent (cf. Palva 1994: 460-465; id. 1997 *passim*).

The aim of this paper is, however, not to try to establish appropriate criteria for an adequate classification of MB. Here the approach is diachronic. It is my aim to examine the historical interaction of *qəltu* and *gələt* dialects that has resulted in the present-day Muslim dialect of Baghdad. As the material I use a number of typologically prominent linguistic features in MB representing, on the one hand, the urban dialect type related to JB and CB, and on the other, the rural type related to Bedouin dialects spoken in southern Iraq and its neighbourhood. In a short paper the number of variables treated is necessarily restricted, and their relative weight in the argumentation may be questioned.

Because MB has not been documented before the twentieth century, its historical development can only be traced by using the present dialect as the starting-point and by considering its structure in the light of common rules of linguistic change, particularly in contact between dialects of Arabic. Although changes that have taken place hundreds of years ago have probably followed the same common rules as today, the diachronic conclusions drawn depend on many uncertain presumptions concerning matters such as communication patterns between different social and religious groups or language attitudes among them in different historical contexts, not to speak about varying fashionable or stigmatized linguistic features among different social groups. Yet, recent and ongoing developments in different dialects certainly are serviceable points of comparison. As to individual linguistic features, relatively reliable diachronic conclusions can also be drawn on the basis of past developments documented in other dialects.

2. *qəltu*-type Features in the Muslim dialect of Baghdad

2.1. *Use of the Reflex* q *of* *q *in a Number of Items, Instead of the Main Reflex* g

2.1.1. These include numerous lexical borrowings from Standard Arabic, e.g., *qallad* ‘to copy, imitate’, *qarrar* ‘to decide on’, *t̠aqqaf* ‘to impart education’, *rāqab* ‘to watch, observe’, *ṭabbaq* ‘to apply’, *qtiraḥ*

'to suggest, recommend', *qāran* 'to compare', *qayyam* 'to estimate, assess', *niqad* 'to review', *wiṯaq* 'to trust', *niqaḍ* 'to cancel, abolish', *waqqaʿ* 'to sign'. This group consists mostly of items connected to different institutions of modern society, and the *q* reflex is adopted as part of the lexical item.

2.1.2. On the other hand, there is another group of words which display the *q* reflex but which belong to the everyday vernacular vocabulary and obviously cannot be regarded as borrowings from Standard Arabic. These 'core items' include, e.g., the following: *qubaḍ* 'to receive', 'to collect', *qubal/qibal* 'to agree', 'to accept', *qarrab* 'to cause to come near', 'to get close', *qira* 'to read', 'to recite', *qisam, qassam* 'to divide', *qiṣad* 'to intend', *qaṭṭar* 'to drop', *qifaz* 'to jump', *qufaṣ* 'to catch', *qufal* 'to lock', *qilla* 'shortage', *qalīl* 'few', *quwa* 'to be or to become strong', *quwwa* 'strength', *qawi* 'strong', *qāʿ* 'bottom', *baqar* 'cow', 'cattle', *buqa* 'to stay', 'to remain', *ṣiqaṭ* 'to fall', 'to topple', *ṣaqqaṭ* 'to cause to fall', *ʿiqab* 'to follow', 'to succeed', *xilaq* 'to create', *xōzaq* 'to stick', 'to cheat', 'to take in', *sibaq* 'to be, come, or happen before or ahead of', 'to precede', and *ṭarīq* 'way'. The most plausible explanation to the use of the *q* reflex in this group of items is that they are inherited MB *qəltu* words adopted with the *q* reflex by rural immigrants at a stage when the urban MB *qəltu* for them was the prestige dialect, that is, before the bedouinization process started.

2.1.3. In some other high-frequency items which at first sight would seem to belong to the core item category, the background of the *q* reflex is different. Thus, e.g., the MB items *sāq* 'to drive' and *sāyiq* 'driver' are obvious Standard Arabic forms, whereas the genuine dialectal *sāg* is used in the meaning 'to drive, herd (animals)'. Another *q—g* pair of the same type is *liḥaq* 'to attach, append', cf. *liḥag* 'to follow, trail after'. There are several other *q—g* pairs with different or overlapping semantic fields, while some are free variants, e.g., *qarrab* 'to cause to come near' and *garrab* 'to bring close', 'to get close'; *farraq* 'to divide' and *farrag* 'to distribute, dispense'; *qisam* and *gisam* 'to divide, split'; *xuluq* 'character' and *xulug* 'temper'; *siqa* and *siga* 'to water, provide water for'; *ṣidaq* and *ṣidag* 'to be truthful, tell

the truth'.[4] In such cases the lexical distribution of the variants is moving towards stylistic variation (see 3.1. below).

2.1.4. In present-day MB, forms with *q* are as a rule younger than those with *g*, with the exception of a number of items exemplified in section 2.1.2. above. A further group, related to both 2.1.2. and 2.1.3., consists of technical terms associated with the urban culture of the past. Abu-Haidar illustrates the case with a few striking examples. One of them concerns the term *saqqa* 'water-carrier', which used to be part of MB vocabulary when water-carriers were a common sight in inner Baghdad, but which is unknown to the younger generation: "An elderly woman, when asked what a water-carrier did, replied: *is-saqqa čān yisgīna mayy* 'the water-carrier used to give us water to drink', using the /q/, /g/ morphophonemic alternation. Compare also: *nigalit il-manqala* 'I carried the brazier', and *giˁad ˁal-maqˁad* 'he sat on the seat', &c". (Abu-Haidar 1987:47, n. 14.) Here *saqqa*, *man-qala* and *maqˁad* are old, well-established technical terms for instruments used in urban environments, adopted by rural immigrants in their *qəltu*-type form.

2.2. *Use of the Verb Modifier* da- *the Most Common Function of Which is Present Continuous or Habitual Action*

Examples: *dayiktib* 'he is writing', *šdatsawwi?* 'what are you doing?' (Blanc 1964:115-116; Malaika 1963:80; Abu-Haidar 2006a:229).[5] The use of verb modifiers to mark different tense and aspect categories is a prominent sedentary feature very well developed in all *qəltu* dialects (see Jastrow 1978:299-311), whereas in rural *gələt* dialects these categories as a rule are unmarked. The same verb modifier is used in JB and CB as well, but, significantly, in these dialects it occurs only with the 1st p. sing. and plur. of the imperfect and has optative

[4] Abu-Haidar 1987:46 gives a list of 15 items in which the *g* > *q* shift involves semantic change from concrete to more abstract, 'sophisticated' meanings, e.g., *ḥagg* 'bride-price', *ḥaqq* 'right, truth'. She also gives 5 examples of older, well-established forms with *q* co-occurring with corresponding forms with *g*, e.g., *warga* 'leaf', *warqa* 'piece of paper'; *gubba* 'room', *qubba* 'dome'. A third list consists of 6 *q—g* pairs in which the items with the *q* reflex are technical terms associated with medicine or science, e.g., *fatig* 'rip, tear', *fatiq* 'hernia'.

[5] It may also function as an optative marker as in JB and CB, but, in contradistinction to these, also be preceded by *xal-* when the form is an unambiguous optative, e.g., *xaldangūl* 'let's say' (Blanc 1964:116).

function (Blanc 1964:116; Mansour 2006:239), while the present and non-contingency markers in them are JB *qad-/qa-* and CB *qa-* (Blanc 1964:115; Abu-Haidar 1991:88; Mansour 2006:239). Apart from MB there are no Muslim dialects in the Mesopotamian dialect area which use the present marker *da-*; consequently, the feature has to be regarded as an inherited MB *qəltu* trait.

2.3. *Use of Futurity Markers* laḥ *and* raḥ

E.g., *ma-raḥ yiği* 'he's not going to come' (Blanc 1964:117-118; Erwin 1963:138-139); according to Malaika (1963:82), *laḥ* is the more commonly used variant. In JB and CB the marker is *ġaḥ* (Abu-Haidar 1991:88-89; Blanc 1964:117 CB *ġāḥ*), which implies that, apart from the difference as to the "non-Muslim" reflex of OA *r*, the markers are identical. This is strong evidence of the common *qəltu* background of the feature. As a salient sedentary feature it could also be explained as a result of the natural drift towards a relative tense system, but in that case it would be an unlikely coincidence that the form of the marker in MB would have become practically identical with those in JB and CB. Generally speaking, the use of futurity markers derived from **rāyiḥ* is an old urban feature in the Mashriq, as suggested by its occurrence also in Egypt (*ḥa-*, *ha-*, Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: 224-225), Damascus (*laḥ*(*a*) and *raḥ*(*a*), more rarely *ḥa-*, Grotzfeld 1965:87), Beirut (*ṛāḥ-*, Behnstedt 1997, Map 162), and parts of Lebanon (*ḥa-*, ibid.).[6]

2.4. *Use of the Proclitic* d(ə)- *to Add to the Imperative a Note of Impatience or to Intensify the Sense of the Imperative*

Examples: *duklu* 'eat (pl.)', *ditkassaḥ* 'clear off!' This feature is of common occurrence in MB, JB and CB (Blanc 1964:117; Malaika 1963:84; Erwin 1963:140). In addition to JB and CB, the imperative modifier *d*(*ə*)– has not been attested in *qəltu* dialects; to my knowledge, the only exception is the Mardin group (*dē* or prefixed *də-*, Mardin town

[6] The use of futurity markers in sedentary dialects of the area probably dates from medieval times already, as is suggested by the fact that dialects which make use of markers going back to the conjunction *ḥattā*, used in Anatolian *qəltu* dialects (*ta-*, *tə-*, Jastrow 1978:301-302) and the dialects spoken in the surroundings of Aleppo (*ta-*, Behnstedt 1997, Map 162), share this trait with Cypriot Arabic (*tta-*, *ta-*, Borg 1985:101-102). The markers < * *ḥattā* seem to have been an early northern Syrian–Mesopotamian feature.

also *dī,* used like an interjection before the imperative, Jastrow 1978:311-312). This indicates that it is, or has been, a more or less restricted local feature. Since the form and function in JB and CB are identical with MB, the possibility that it in MB is a feature borrowed from JB or CB cannot be definitely excluded. However, as dialect shifts as a rule tend to move in the direction of the prestigious variant, this development is unlikely. Therefore the plausible conclusion is that in MB this is a trait inherited from medieval MB *qəltu*.

2.5. *Marking the Definite Direct Object of a Verb with an Anticipatory Pronominal Suffix + a Proclitic* l-

Examples: *bāᶜa lil-bēt* 'he sold the house', *ma-aḥibba l-hāḏa* 'I don't like him' (Feghali 1928:362-363; Blanc 1964:128; Malaika 1963:63; Erwin 1963:332; Abu-Haidar 2006a:230-231). Significantly, this construction appears in JB and CB as well. It is also worth noticing that MB makes more often use of the unmarked construction while in CB the marked construction occurs more commonly (Abu-Haidar 1991: 116); most frequent it is in JB, according to Blanc, actually the normal one (Blanc's emphasis, 1964:129). In sedentary Arabic dialects spoken in the Mashriq this syntactic feature is an obvious Aramaic substrate device (e.g., Feghali 1928:362-363). In view of the language situation in the Syrian–Mesopotamian area during the last pre-Islamic and the first Islamic centuries it is not unexpected that this feature also occurs in Maltese and Cypriot Arabic, spoken by Christians, as well as in the insular Arabic dialects in Central Asia, spoken by Muslims (Borg 1981:35-62; Borg 1985:138; Blanc 1964:130; Blau 1961:215; Fischer 1961:262-263). As an Aramaic substrate device its more frequent occurrence in JB and CB is rather natural, but there is no reason to suppose that it would have been adopted by MB speakers from the non-prestigious JB or CB. Therefore, in MB it must be regarded as a trait inherited from the medieval MB of the *qəltu* type.

2.6. *Use of a Prefixed Indetermination Marker, a Variant of Which in MB, JB and CB is* fad(d)

Examples: *hayy čānat fadd fikra mumtāza* 'that was an excellent idea' (Erwin 1963:355); *walad zēn* / *fadwálad zēn* 'a good boy'; cf. 'some', 'one': *fadyōm* 'one day', *faššī* 'something' (Blanc 1964:118, 126; Malaika 1963:69; Erwin 1963:355-358).

All three dialects have also an uncontracted variant of *fard*: MB *farəd*, JB *faġad*, CB *faġəd*. The development of a new indetermination marker is a sedentary feature found in the Mesopotamian dialect area as well as in a number of North African dialects (**wāḥid* plus article). Apart from the dialects spoken in Baghdad, it is attested in the *qəltu* dialects of ʿ*Āna* (*fadd*, *farəd*) and Mosul (*fadd*, *faġəd*), and significantly, insular Arabic dialects in Central Asia (*fat*), a fact that is evidence of its early, Abbasid times emergence (Blanc 1964:119). It might be worth noticing that a marker of the same type is used in the surrounding languages: Turk. *bir*, Pers. *ye*(*k*), Northeastern Neo-Aramaic *xa* (Blanc 1964:119; Edzard 2006:189.)

2.7. *Absence of Separate Feminine Plural Forms in Personal Pronouns and Finite Verbs*

This is a feature shared by most present-day sedentary dialects of Arabic, whereas in Bedouin dialects to the east of Egypt and in rural dialects spoken in southern Mesopotamia and the Gulf coast, the feminine plural forms are retained (Ingham 1982:38). In MB, the reduction of morphological categories in personal pronouns and finite verbs is probably an inherited *qəltu* trait, although the natural drift combined with dialect contact would probably have led to the same development, as it has actually done as part of sedentarization process, e.g., in urban centres such as Basra, Zubair and Kuwait (*ibid.*; Palva 2006:611).

2.8. *Absence of Form IV as a Productive Morphological Category*

According to Blanc, traces of Form IV verbs can be recognized only by the perfect and the participle, such as the MB *ənṭēt* 'I gave', *mənṭi* 'having given'. In addition, there are some fossilized items, e.g., *agbal* 'he came forward' and *awda*ʿ 'he took leave of' (Blanc 1964:111). The *qəltu*-type vernacular dialect(s) spoken in Baghdad in Abbasid times may actually have lacked Form IV, as suggested by its absence in JB and CB (see Mansour 2006:238; Abu-Haidar 1991:50-51). Therefore it is worth noticing that also the sedentary *Baḥārna* dialect does not use Form IV except in fixed expressions; otherwise it is replaced by Forms I and (mainly) II (Holes 2006:252). According to Johnstone, Form IV is used in Bedouin-type dialects spoken in Kuwait and Qatar, how productively, is however not mentioned (Johnstone 1967: 73, 111).

2.9. *Absence of Salient Bedouin-type Syllable Structures*

The typologically most conspicuous Bedouin-type syllable structures are "the *gahawa* syndrome", e.g., *gahwa* —> *gahawa*, *yaxbuṭ*—> *yaxabuṭ* and the Najdi resyllabification rule, e.g., *gahawa* —> *ghawa*, *yaxabuṭ* —> *yxabuṭ*, *katabat* —> *ktibat*; *zalama* —> *zlīma* (De Jong 2007:151-153), which are absent from MB. This is an obvious major case of phonetic adaptation by immigrant Bedouin speakers, the ex-Bedouin rural population in southern Iraq included (Blanc 1964:166; Johnstone 1967:6-7).[7]

3. *gələt*-Type Features in the Muslim Dialect of Baghdad

3.1. *Use of the Voiced* g *Reflex of OA* q

In a classification based on linguistic contrasts, the voiced reflex of OA *q* is the most exclusive Bedouin feature. The Bedouin character of MB is, however, compromised by the fact that in a number of items the reflex is *q*, and on the other hand, that the *g* reflex is used without its phonetically-conditioned affricated allophone *ğ*, which is part of the phonetic system of the neighbouring Bedouin dialects as well as, e.g., of the dialect spoken in Basra and Kuwait until the mid-twentieth century (Johnstone 1967:5, 29-32). However, in a few items the affrication has been retained and adopted as an established form used in Baghdad regardless of religious affiliation, e.g., *Bāb eš-šarği* 'the East Gate (quarter)', (*hawa*) *šarği* 'east wind', but: *šarqi* 'eastern' (Blanc 1964:27). The form *šarği* may well be explained as an adopted Bedouin term which, used with the definite article, is the name of a special kind of wind, but the historical context in which the name of a city quarter has been established in its Bedouin form is not known.

A comparison with urban dialects that display certain Bedouin features suggests that the first step in the bedouinization process probably is adopting separate lexical items associated with the rural sphere. This stage obtains in urban Maghribi Arabic, which usually displays *g* in rural-based items such as *bagra* 'cow', *girbe* 'waterskin', *gīṭūn* 'tent' and *gnīn* 'rabbit' (Marçais 1902:17; Heath 1989:6; Boucherit 2002:

[7] Forms such as *laḥam* 'meat', *šahar* 'month', *baḥar* 'sea', *baġaḷ* 'mule' do not belong to the *gahawa* syndrome cases, but the latter *a*-vowel is an anaptyxis (Blanc 1964:55).

40-41). The second stage is reported by Talmoudi from *Sūsa* (Sousse): In the old genuine dialect of the town, the *q* and *g* reflexes of *q are in lexical distribution, whereas "in the koineized 'Sūsi' of the suburbs and of the younger generation the pattern is changed: [g] is rather a stylistic variant of [q] and can replace it anywhere, whereas the /g/ in early loans cannot be replaced by /q/". (Talmoudi 1980:22-23.) The adoption of the *g* reflex does not necessarily imply that the rural dialects are in the majority or are felt as prestigious, but this particular feature may be perceived of as carrying positive connotations such as "toughness, manhood and masculinity" in Amman (Abdel-Jawad 1981:176; Palva 1994:466). In Tunisia, the rural *g* reflex has infiltrated from the suburbs of Sūsa to the Medina, where youngsters use it in order to appear as tough (Talmoudi 1980:22).

A parallel development has been attested in the Euphrates group of Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects. Thus, *ʿĀna* and *Hīt* have ***grayyeb*** 'near', ***Dēr ez-Zōr bgaṛa*** 'cow' and ***nāga*** 'she-camel', which all are Bedouin loanwords. On the other hand, both dialects have items like ***gahwa*** 'coffee', ***bagra*** 'cow' (*ʿĀna* and *Hīt*, Blanc 1964:27) and ***gaḷib*** 'heart', ***gāʿ*** 'ground', ***bāg***, ***ybūg*** 'to steal' (*Dēr ez-Zōr*) in which *g* has been substituted for the older *qəltu* -type *q* (Jastrow 1978:42). In the Euphrates group dialects this development may have been going on for several generations, as is indicated by the fact that forms such as ***gdr*** 'to be able', ***gṭʿ*** 'to break up', ***q/gwl*** 'to say', ***bagra*** 'cow', ***rigba*** 'neck', and ***grīb*** 'close' were attested among the Karaite Jews at *Hīt* by Khan, whose fieldwork among them was undertaken in Beersheva forty years after they left Iraq (Khan 1997:56). In all probability, these first signs of incipient bedouinization reached the Muslim population of the town well before the local Jews.

3.2. *OA* k > k/č *With a Mainly Phonetically-conditioned Distribution*

In the dialects of Arabic, the affrication of *k* is not only a Bedouin trait but also well known from some rural sedentary dialects spoken, e.g., in Bahrain, Soukhne and Central Palestinian villages. These differ, however, from Bedouin dialects in that the affrication in them is not phonetically conditioned, but probably attributable to a push chain development due to the fronting of *q (*q > *k*; *k > *č*) (Behnstedt 1994:7-11; Holes 2006:242; Palva 1995:181-187). In Jordan as well as in the West Bank, the large-scale migration and the rapid

urbanization process along with the resulting dialect levelling have led to a substantial regression in the use of the *k*-affrication, which in urban environments is not only a non-prestigious feature, but is even suppressed as a stigma (Abdel-Jawad 1981:176-177; 301-302). Contrariwise, in MB similar development has not taken place. Before the *gələt* vs. *qəltu* split in Baghdad, the non-affricated variant *k* was used indiscriminately by Muslims, Jews and Christians. The adoption of the *k*/*č* variation by Muslim speakers rendered it a sociolinguistic marker which differentiated the prestigious MB from the non-prestigious JB and CB minority dialects. The function of the reflexes of *q and *k as social group markers thus seems to have led to an asymmetry between the phonemically and phonetically parallel cases in the phonemic system of MB.[8] However, this explanation is rendered uncertain when compared with the situation prevailing in *Dēr ez-Zōr*, where differences between religious groups are not involved. There the lexically restricted transition of *q* to *g* is phonetically unconditioned, and *g* is not affricated, whereas the affrication of *k* in a number of items is always phonetically conditioned (Jastrow 1978:42-43; this applies to *ʿĀna* as well, Blanc 1964:26-27).

3.3. *Use of C-*əč *and V-*č *as the Suffixed Personal Pronoun for the 2nd p. sing. fem. Instead of the* qəltu-*Type Forms* -ki *(CB) and C-*ək, *V-*ki *(JB)*

The development is illustrated by the examples *abūč, bētəč* MB, *abūki, bētək* JB, and *abūki, bētki* CB (Blanc 1964:65; Abu-Haidar 1991:81; Abu-Haidar 2006a:226; Mansour 2006:236). As far as the affrication of *k* remains phonetically conditioned, the contrast *bētək* vs. *bētəč* is purely phonetic, whereas the contrast *abūki* JB, CB vs. *abūč* MB proves that the change from *qəltu* to *gələt* in this case implied one further step, namely adoption of the phonetically unconditioned use of -*č* as a feminine morpheme.[9] The medieval *qəltu*-type MB may, of course,

[8] Abdel-Jawad explains the similar asymmetry prevailing in Amman by the speakers' mixed backgrounds (1981:163-165).

[9] Cf. the development in Amman, where the unconditioned *č* of the Central Palestinian rural dialects is a very stigmatized variant and where the affrication of *k is generally avoided. Most resistant to de-affrication is the suffixed personal pronoun for the 2nd p. sing. fem. (Abdel-Jawad 1981:279, 282). This feature is naturally connected with the established morphological use of the contrast -*k* (masc.) vs. -*č* (fem.), which implies that the reflexes of *k in this case are phonetically unconditioned.

have had the same uniform -*ki* form as JB and CB, but the change to the *gələt* forms was not purely phonetic in that case either.

3.4. *Application of the Low Vowel Raising Rule*

When OA /a/ in a stressed open syllable is followed by /a/ in the next syllable, it is as a rule—with many exceptions—raised to /i/, which is realized as *ə* or *u*, depending on the consonant environment, e.g., *səmač* 'fish', *səma* 'sky', *ǧəbal* 'mountain'; *ḅuṣal* 'onions', *gumar* 'moon', *kuḅar* 'to grow up' (Blanc 1964:40). Because this rule is operative in verbs as well, the sedentary-type perfect base patterns *CaCaC* and *CiCiC*[10] in Form I of the triradical strong verb have been transformed into *CiCaC*, with a phonetically-conditioned allomorph *CuCaC*: *kitab* 'to write', *giṭaᶜ* 'to cut', *buram* 'to twist'; *šərab* 'to drink', *nəzal* 'to descend', *wugaᶜ* 'to fall'. Interestingly, this systematic Bedouin-type phonetic change did not affect the rather unsystematically distributed *q* reflex of *q (2.1.2. above), which seems to indicate that the *q* reflex in this group of items was well established before the low vowel raising rule became operative.

3.5. *Use of* /-t/ *as the 1st p. sing. Morpheme in the Perfect, Instead of* /-tu/ *Typical of the* qəltu *Dialects*

This change implied also neutralization of the former morphological contrast 1st p. sing. vs. 2nd p. sing. masc. in the inflection of the perfect. Concomitantly, the rural and Bedouin /-tū/ morpheme of the 2nd p. plur. used in the adjacent areas replaced the *qəltu*-type morpheme */-tum/.

3.6. *Use of* āni *as the 1st p. sing.,* əḥna *as the 1st p. plur. and* əntu *as the 2nd p. plur. Independent Personal Pronoun Instead of the qəltu-Type Forms* ana, nəḥna *and* əntəm

Here MB follows the patterns commonly used in the Bedouin dialects of the Syrian-Mesopotamian group and the *gələt* dialects spoken in

[10] JB has only one pattern, *CaCaC*, whereas CB has two, *CaCaC* and *CiCiC*, which are used also in the *qəltu* dialects spoken in Anatolia, Mosul, *Tikrīt*, *Dēr ez-Zōr*, and *Albū Kmāl* (Blanc 1964:40; Johnstone 1975:92; Jastrow 1978:146-157; Behnstedt 1997:264-267; Abu-Haidar 1991:42-43). This indicates that also the former *qəltu*-type MB had these two patterns.

Lower Iraq, Kuwait, and Bahrain[11] (Cantineau 1936:70; Johnstone 1967:91, 104), as a rule differing from the forms used in *qəltu* dialects (Blanc 1964:60; Jastrow 1978:130-131; Abu-Haidar 1991:80; Abu-Haidar 2006a:226; Mansour 2006:236) as well as in the sedentary dialects of Syria and Lebanon (Behnstedt 1997, Map 255). The progress of bedouinization in the Euphrates Group of the qəltu dialects is illustrated by the gələt-type *əḥna* in *Dēr ez-Zōr* (Jastrow 1978:131) and in JB, apparently as a majority dialect variant used side by side with *nəḥna* (Mansour 2006:236).

3.7. *Use of* gāʿed *with the Imperfect as a Present Continuous Marker*

In addition to the *qəltu*-type verb modifier *da*-, MB also makes use of the unshortened active participle *gāʿed* in the same function, although it might be relatively infrequent (Blanc 1964:115). This is an obvious imported rural *gələt*-type form, which has been only phonetically—by suppression of affrication—adapted to the prevalent urban dialect, as is the case in Kuwait and Bahrain as well (Johnstone 1967:144, 152; Holes 2006:253). In the village of *Kwayriš* at the ruins of Babylon, the genuine Bedouin-type affrication has been attested: *ğāʿed yiktib* (Denz 1971:110, 116). This feature is well documented from the Syrian Desert (*ğāʿid*) and *Ḥōrān* (*gāʿid*) as well (Behnstedt 1997, Map 161).

3.8. *Use of the Bedouin-Type Adverb* hnā *'here', Instead of the* qəltu-*Type Form* hōn(i)

As reported by Blanc, *qəltu* dialects as a rule make use of forms of the type going back to OA **hāhunā*, whereas its equivalents in *gələt* dialects have developed from OA **hunā* or **hinā* (Fischer 1959:115-116; Jastrow 1978:112-113). Blanc also points out that the *qəltu*-type forms *hawna* and *hūni* are attested for eleventh-century Iraqi vernacular and for fourteenth-century Baghdad, respectively (Blanc 1964:139-140; Levin 1994:326). As representatives of the *gələt* type, the Gulf dialects have *hnī*, *ihna*, and the like (Johnstone 1967:17, 68; Holes 2006:248; Fischer 1959:117). In Syria both sedentary and Bedouin dialects—like the Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects—have forms going back to **hāhunā* or **hāhinā*, whereas *Mʿaḏḏamiyye*, besides *Dēr ez-Zōr* the only *qəltu*-

[11] In the ʿArab dialect of Bahrain the 1st p. sing. is, however *ana*/*āna*, Holes 2006:247.

speaking locality in Syria, contrary to expectations, has *hini*; only some villages around the Soukhne oasis have reflexes of **hinā* (Behnstedt 1997, Map 280).

3.9. *Use of a Number of Core Items Belonging to Bedouin Vocabulary*

These include, e.g., *zēn* 'good' (cf. JB *mlīḥ*, CB *malēḥ*); *mūzēn* 'bad' (cf. JB *dūni*, CB *mū malēḥ*); *bāčer* 'tomorrow' (cf. JB, CB *ġada*); *yamm* 'beside' (cf. JB, CB *ṣōb*); *nəṭa* 'to give' (cf. JB, CB *ṭaʿa*); *rağəl* 'husband' (cf. JB, CB *zōğ*); *hdūm* 'clothes' (cf. JB, CB *ḥwās*) (Blanc 1964:133-159).

3.10. *Use of the Personal Morphemes* t-…-īn, y-…-ūn *and* t-…-ūn *in the Imperfect*

The personal morphemes of the 2nd p. fem. sing., 2nd p. plur. and 3rd p. plur. in the imperfect, *t-…-īn*, *y-…-ūn* and *t-…-ūn*, respectively, are identical with their counterparts in most Bedouin dialects of the Peninsular type. In this context, this feature is not relevant, however, because MB shares it with the urban JB and CB dialects, e.g., JB *tkətbēn, tkətbōn, ykətbōn*, CB *təktəbīn, təktəbūn, yəktəbūn*, respectively (Blanc 1964:100).

4. The Historical Context

The historical development of MB is inseparably connected with the history of Baghdad. For an adequate interpretation of the provenance of the *gələt*-type MB, the first crucial point of time is the Mongol devastation of the city in 1258 and the subsequent decades. The key question concerns the position of the old *qəltu*-type urban dialect of the Muslims vis-à-vis the Bedouin-type dialect of the rural immigrants to the city at that period. Was it likely that the urban Muslim population after the catastrophe still was numerous and influential enough to retain its position as a model for linguistic accommodation for Muslim immigrants to Baghdad?

It is a commonly held idea that when Hülegü had conquered Baghdad in 1258, a general massacre broke out and continued for forty days, during which the majority of the inhabitants perished. Although several almost contemporary accounts are available, of the

medieval Muslim chroniclers no one actually witnessed the events that took place in the city (al-Faruque 1988:194). In medieval sources the number of those who were killed varies between 800,000 and 2,000,000—fantastic figures, perhaps given in order to create hatred of Mongols, or just to underline the huge proportions of the catastrophe. For a realistic assessment it is necessary to keep in mind that already at the end of the eleventh century many quarters in Western Baghdad were ruined and deserted, and in 1184, when Ibn Jubayr visited the city, it was already in decline. Yaqut's report from 1226 is by and large in accordance with Ibn Jubayr's description. According to these reports, Western Baghdad was a series of isolated quarters each with a wall and separated by waste land of ruins. The situation grew still worse in the 1250s when several floods ruined parts of the city (Duri 1960:902). In these circumstances the number of the victims of the 1258 massacre must have been essentially smaller than reported; according to Duri it "probably exceeded a hundred thousand". This is in line with the Chinese traveller Ch'ang Te's report (1249)—obviously from Mongol sources—that several tens of thousands were killed (*ibid.*) as well as with Hitti's estimate: "The indiscriminate one-week slaughter, chroniclers claim, left 700,000 victims, which may have been 70,000, including refugees from the environs". (Hitti 1973:106) However, the gap between different figures is still huge: al-Faruque (1988:199) estimates that 800,000 of the total population of two million were killed.[12]

According to the anonymous work ***Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ***, nothing remained of Western Baghdad except isolated quarters of which the writer mentions six, among them al-Karkh, which was the most populated area. As to East Baghdad, the author of ***Marāṣid*** adds an interesting information: "When the Tartars came, most of [East Baghdad] was ruined. They killed its people and few were left. Then people from outside came". (***Marāṣid***, Cairo ed., p. 201, *pace* Duri 1960:903.) It is a reasonable explanation that a considerable number of rural immigrants came to Baghdad soon after the devastation of the city. Although they scarcely formed a majority of the population of the whole city, as a result of the Mongol invasion the relative power of different groups was changed. The Sunnites had obviously

[12] al-Faruque takes Duri's figure of 1,5 million inhabitants in the tenth century as the basis of his estimation but disregards the fact that at the time of the Mongol conquest parts of the city were already deserted.

suffered most, as is indicated by their outbreaks against non-Muslims. The Il-Khans patronized Christians and some Jews rose to prominent posts (Duri 1960:903). The Christian population was still very numerous, and among the Shīʿites, the Twelvers were the best protected group (Spuler 1970:163-164).

As a consequence of epidemics that followed the massacre the population was further reduced. Although Baghdad was badly ruined, it was not depopulated. The city was partly restored, and it became a provincial centre. Yet, as pointed out by Hourani, it never recovered from the decline of the irrigation system of southern Iraq, the Mongol invasion and the movement of the trade from the Gulf to the Red Sea. At all events, after another sack in 1401 and several epidemics, it still remained the largest city in Iraq. At the beginning of the Ottoman rule in the middle of the sixteenth century it with its estimated 50,000-100,000 inhabitants was, together with Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, and Tunis, one of the biggest Arab cities (Hourani 1991:234).

From the thirteenth century on, in spite of the decline, for any immigrant from the countryside Baghdad must still have been impressive, and its inhabitants were undoubtedly dominant both politically and economically. Consequently, the language form used by its Muslim inhabitants very likely was the local prestige dialect to which Muslim immigrants from the country were disposed to adapt themselves. When Ibn Battuta in the 1320s and 1330s visited the city, he reports that it had eleven Friday mosques, eight on the right bank and three on the left, and many other mosques and madrasas (***Ibn Baṭṭūṭa***, Cairo ed. 1908, I:140-141). Irrespective of the correctness of these figures, Baghdad was an important administrative and commercial centre. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the city was still in decline and the number of its inhabitants may at times have been relatively small. For the whole population in the seventeenth century Duri gives the low figure of about 15,000, based on Jean Baptiste Tavernier, a French merchant who in 1651 visited Baghdad (Duri 1960: 904).[13] At any rate, from the Mongol invasions

[13] "Enfin depuis la prise de Bagdat par Sultan Amurat, le nombre des habitans ne peut guere monter qu'à quinze mille ames, ce qui montre assez que la ville n'est pas peuplée selon sa grandeur". *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, écuyer baron d'Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes…* Gervais Clouzier: Paris, 1676; p. 213. The low figure may be rather correct; the map of Baghdad sketched by Tavernier did not radically differ from that drawn by the British on their occupation in 1917 (Hitti 1973:108; the number of population *ibid*., 1,400, must be a misprint).

until the beginning of the Ottoman rule in 1534, and finally in 1638, Baghdad experienced a long period of stagnation and decay.

The decay of *ḥaḍari* culture, both urban and rural, brought about growing immigration of Bedouin tribes most of which moved from northern Arabia to southern Iraq. The majority of these were sheep-raising *šāwiya* tribes linguistically belonging to the Syro-Mesopotamian group (Cantineau's Group C) whose dialect did not essentially differ from that spoken by the *filḥ*, the settled ex-Bedouin. It was the policy of the Ottomans to settle them as peasants, and in the course of time many of them did so. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in Iraq a time of rapidly increasing sedentarization of *šāwiya* tribes. Another kind of Bedouin migration, outside the control of the Ottoman government, was the invasion of the camel-herding Šammari tribe from the northern part of Arabia over the Euphrates at the end of the seventeenth century. They remained nomadic, and when their enemies, the big camel-nomad tribe of the ʿAnaze in the eighteenth century moved to the Syrian Desert, the southern borders of Iraq and to the coasts of the Gulf, they found even better pastures in the Jazira between the rivers in the northwest. These two tribes were strong enough to collect *xūwa* taxes from the sheep-raising tribes and protection money from villages and towns. Life in the countryside was felt insecure, and many villagers probably moved to towns.[14] The ʿAnaze also received dues for safe-conduct on the trade-route between Iraq and Syria, and they had right to collect the *ṣurra* from pilgrims travelling through their tribal area. The situation was not altered before the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Ottomans got control over the Euphrates valley. (Blunt 1968:175-187; Oppenheim 1939:55, 68-72.)

Baghdad remained a provincial capital—although under Mamluk governors between 1749 and 1831—for the rest of the Ottoman period. During this more stable period the city started growing again, and the number of its inhabitants increased manyfold. In the nineteenth century the population varied between 40,000 and 100,000, being at its lowest after the plague and flood of 1831. The figures given by the local inhabitants to travellers were of course

[14] Cf. the situation in the *Balqāʾ* district of Jordan, where *es-Salṭ* from about the fifteenth century was the only permanently inhabited locality. Only in the middle of the nineteenth century the Ottoman state gained some control over the Bedouin tribes, and the peasants could settle down in villages. (Palva 2004:222 and references there.)

much higher. In 1878, during a plague, Anne Blunt writes that there were ca. 80,000 to 100,000 inhabitants in the city, of which 18,000 were Jews, 2,000 Armenian Christians, and 7,000 Turks, Persians and Indians (Blunt 1968:192). In 1918 the population was estimated at 200,000;[15] in 1947 it was 467,000, and one year before the 1958 revolution it had mounted to 735,000 (Duri 1960:906-908). At the present, the number of inhabitants in the metropolitan area is approximately 7,000,000, a figure which is not only a result of high birth rate but perhaps even more of mass immigration from the countryside. Of the new suburbs especially planned for immigrants the most important is the Sadr City, founded in 1959, with its two million mainly *Shīᶜī* inhabitants.

5. Discussion

5.1. The present-day MB is thoroughly coloured by three prominent phonetic features of Bedouin type: the *g* reflex of *q, the *k/č* reflexes of *k, and the low vowel raising rule. From the diachronic point of view, it is most interesting to notice that the phonetic bedouinization *q* > *g* has at some stage ceased to be operative, and the *q* reflex has been retained in a number of core items. It is rather natural that, after the incorporation of a few cultural Bedouin loanwords, adopting the *g* reflex often is the first step in the bedouinization process, as it does not bring about any further phonetic changes, whereas the low vowel raising implies substantial synchronic changes in the syllable structure and thus affects the shapes of both nominal and verbal syllable patterns. Therefore the low vowel raising rule does not allow exceptions as easily as the *q > *g* change. This is why in dialect contact situations it is not commonly suppressed, whereas suppression of the phonetically-conditioned affrication of *g* is a common koineizing or levelling feature, in fact often the first Bedouin trait to be suppressed. Other often suppressed phonetic traits are the *gahawa* syndrome and the resyllabification rule.

[15] According to British statistics of 1917, the total population of Baghdad was 202,200. Of them, 80,000 were Jews, 12,000 Christians, 8,000 Kurds, 800 Persians, 101,400 Sunnites, Shiᶜites, and Turks (Rejwan 1985:210-211). The large number of Jews was a result of the explosive increase of commerce in the area of the Indian Ocean after the opening of the Suez Canal 1869.

Among Bedouin-type features in MB the independent personal pronouns *āni*, *əḥna* and *əntu*, as well as the demonstrative adverb *hnā*, are traits which belong to the most readily adopted rural features. A prerequisite for the incorporation of these items and the above-mentioned phonetic features is that the Bedouin-type *gələt* dialect at some stage was prestigious, or rather, at least certain individual linguistic variables in rural dialects were used as positive social markers indicative of the speaker's status within the community.

Against this background it might seem rather surprising that MB displays a number of salient sedentary features. If bedouinization of MB was an early phenomenon caused by a massive immigration from the countryside to the city soon after 1258, or after 1401, why did it leave the morphology of MB substantially unaffected? If the immigrants formed an overwhelming majority of Muslims in the city, this would necessarily imply that they absorbed all these sedentary features from the urban minority of Muslim speakers in existence, which is highly improbable though not impossible. On the other hand, if the urban Muslim population was virtually wiped out and the deserted quarters were flooded by immigrants from the countryside, also the old *qəltu*-type MB virtually disappeared and was replaced by the rural *gələt* dialect. In that case, the sedentary features of MB must have appeared to the speech of the new *gələt*-speaking population either from the dialects of the non-Muslim minorities or from Muslim *qəltu*-speaking immigrants from other parts of the country. The former alternative disregards the social distance[16] between the religious groups in general and the higher social status of the Muslims in particular. In the Middle Ages the distribution in the use of communal dialects was scarcely different from that of the past two or three generations, when the Jews and the Christians spoke JB and CB at home and with members of their respective communities, but with Muslims they used MB (Mansour 2006:231-232; Duri 1960:907). If the massacre of the Baghdad Muslims was as total as described in the most exaggerating reports, the only remaining alternative source of *qəltu*-type features in MB would be the dialects of the returning Muslim refugees or sedentary Muslim immigrants from other parts of the

[16] Most Jews and Christians lived in quarters of their own on the left bank of the river, not mixing in their everyday lives (quarters, schools, religious institutions). There was no ghetto system, but the segregation was voluntary. Although some families lived outside their traditional quarters, the social distance between Muslims and non-Muslims remained substantial.

Mesopotamian dialect area. But this improbable assumption would actually not affect the general pattern of the linguistic change from *qəltu* to *gələt*.

That the present MB would have emerged from the rural *gələt* dialect through innerdialectal development is utterly impossible. In particular, the partially retained *q* and the Aramaic-style marking of direct object by anticipatory suffix plus *l-* are features that are thoroughly inconsistent with such an assumption. Also, the use of *da-* as a present continuous verb modifier, *laḥ* and *raḥ* as futurity markers, and the proclitic *d(i)-* with the imperative are sedentary MB traits which, when compared with their cognate counterparts in JB and CB, are improbable results of a relatively autonomous development of a rural *gələt* into the urban-type *gələt* dialect. Among sedentary features discussed above (2.1.–9.), only the absence of separate feminine plural forms in personal pronouns and finite verbs as well as the absence of Form IV as a productive category are reductional changes which need not be inherited from the older *qəltu*-type MB, as is also the case with the apophonic passive, which is not absent in sedentary dialects only, but in many Bedouin dialects as well. It must be concluded that MB is a continuation of the pre-Abbasid sedentary dialect spoken by the Muslim population of Baghdad, and that its bedouinization is of relatively recent date.

5.2. After the catastrophes in 1258 and 1401, although dramatically reduced in number, urban Muslims most probably remained as the bulk of population in the city. Immigration from the countryside was not massive enough to radically transform the linguistic structure of the old *qəltu*-type MB. On the contrary, the immigrants must by and large have accommodated to the speech of the urban people. As the linguistic change in language contact as a rule starts with a phonetic adaptation and adoption of separate culturally-based lexical items from the predominant language, the rural immigrants who came to Baghdad before the sixteenth century certainly incorporated technical terms associated with the urban culture, and a majority of them most likely substituted the urban *q* for their rural *g*. Adaptation to the mainly *qəltu*-type morphology must have been a slower process.

Later on, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the rural migrants became dominant in some sectors of the population and the bedouinization of MB gained ground, the process naturally started with adoption of certain rural loanwords and the spread of

the rural *g* in approximately the same way as today in many cities which are drawing masses of immigrants from the countryside, e.g., in the Maghrib. It is not necessary to assume that the Bedouin speech as such, and to all speakers, was prestigious, but as pointed out by Miller, "[i]n case of inter-dialectal contact within the city, the levelling/koineization process is not systematically, and at all linguistic levels, in favour of the pre-existing urban dialect" (Miller 2004:180, 194, 197; Behnstedt & Woidich 2005:47). Over time, also a few morphological Bedouin traits such as personal pronouns, the adverb *hnā*, and certain personal morphemes in the perfect, were adopted. Because the *q* > *g* development probably is the first systematic step in the bedouinization process—as suggested by the well-documented present-day parallel developments—it probably ceased before the low vowel raising rule became operative; otherwise, typologically hybrid forms such as *qibal* and *buqa* would not have come about.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the rural immigration grew massive enough to strengthen the status of the *gələt*-type dialect to the extent that the new immigrants did not abandon their *g* and *k*/*č* reflexes and their low vowel raising rule, but freely used these when talking to *qəltu* speakers, and, as a result, these features spread among the urban Muslim population. As all *gələt* speakers were Muslims, these rural traits soon became Muslim group markers, a development which, I would argue, played a crucial role in the *q* > *g* change by the Muslim urban population.[17] This brought about a new sociolinguistic contrast between the purely urban JB & CB *qəltu* and the rural-influenced urban MB *qəltu*.[18] Among the Muslims, the rural dialect did however not become more prestigious than the urban dialect, as is shown by the fact that the *q* reflex was retained in a number of items, and the mainly sedentary-type morphology of the urban speakers was not substantially changed. The newcomers did not actually have to abandon their grammar; in contact with urban Muslim population they gradually adopted sedentary elements such as *da*-, *laḥ*/*raḥ*, *d(i)*-, which could simply be added to the unmarked verbal forms. On the other hand, the previous Muslim *qəltu* speakers did

[17] Cf. the situation in *Baḥrain,* where the *Shīʿite* community tends to replace the genuine *ḳ* + *č* pair by the *Sunnī* and "areal standard" equivalents *g* + *k*, but not the "Sunni-marked" affricated *ğ* variant of *g* (Holes 1983:13; Holes 1987:40-41).

[18] According to Blanc, in the fourteenth century, the Baghdad Muslims were still speaking a *qəltu* type dialect and were, presumably, undifferentiated from the non-Muslims (Blanc 1964:170).

not adopt the phonetically-conditioned *g*-affrication of the newcomers, and in the course of time the rural immigrants suppressed it as well. Thus the linguistic adaptation which led to the rise of the new *gələt*-type MB was mutual. As a result, again a new sociolinguistic contrast emerged: urban *gələt* vs. rural *gələt*, exemplified by /g/ = [g]/[q] vs. /g/ = [g]/[ğ].[19] The rather enigmatic retainment of *q* in certain core items might actually have become a marker of urbanity at a stage when bedouinization was progressing most rapidly, most probably in the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

Diachronically, the present-day *gələt* dialect of the Baghdad Muslims is the result of a process of bedouinization of a relatively undifferentiated urban *qəltu* dialect, mainly during the past three centuries. The process probably started—as in a number of urban dialects at the present—with adoption of separate lexical items associated with the rural sphere. The items which had the *g* reflex of *q were adopted as such, without phonetic adaptation. At first, the *q* and *g* reflexes were lexically distributed, but along with an increasing immigration the *g* reflex spread as a stylistic variant of *q*. As all speakers who used the *g* reflex were Muslims, it became recognized as a Muslim group marker, and it soon grew predominant. Concomitantly, as the previous Muslim *qəltu* speakers did not adopt the phonetically-conditioned *g*-affrication, the rural immigrants suppressed it as well, and a new contrast emerged between urban *gələt* and rural *gələt*. This contrast was enhanced by retention of the *q* reflex in a number of core items. On the other hand, the new immigrants did not suppress the affricated reflex of *k*, and in course of time the *k*/*č* variation was adopted by the urban Muslim speakers as well. As high-frequency elements, the

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[19] Blanc (1964:165-166) draws broad outlines of this contrast by comparing some MB features with their counterparts in the rural dialect spoken in Kwayriš (see also Jastrow 2004:138-139). At the present, as a result of the rapidly increased rural population, the Bedouinization process is going on. Bedouin features such as the phonetically-conditioned affrication of *g* and gender distinction in personal pronouns and in finite verbs are gaining ground, predominantly in the *Shīʿite* community in Sadr City (Abu-Haidar 2006b:271-272). Thus, the contrast between urban and rural *gələt* is diminishing, which would deepen the gap between MB and CB. However, the dominance of MB is apparent, and the speech of Baghdadi Christians is constantly shifting in the direction of the *gələt* variety (Abu-Haidar 2006a:222).

g and *k*/*č* reflexes became prominent markers which differentiated the prestigious MB from the non-prestigious JB and CB minority dialects. A further phonetic development was the Bedouin-type vowel raising rule, which was adopted by the urban Muslim population, whereas the Bedouin-type *gahawa* syndrome and the Najdi resyllabification rule were not adopted. Grammatical developments followed the same kind of accommodation process. The old urban verb modifiers, the indetermination marker and the Aramaic-type marking of the definite object were adopted by rural immigrants, while many rural forms, such as personal pronouns, phonetically unconditioned use of -*č* as a feminine morpheme, and personal morphemes in the perfect were adopted by urban speakers. Thus, the linguistic adaptation was mutual: the old urban dialect was bedouinized, and the Bedouin-type dialect of the new immigrants was urbanized.

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THE g/ğ-QUESTION IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC REVISITED

Manfred Woidich and Liesbeth Zack

1. The Problem

One of the most eye-catching, or rather ear-catching features when listening to what is generally called "Egyptian Arabic", is the voiced velar plosive /g/ [g]. This sound corresponds to ج /ğ/ in Classical Arabic, and, respectively, in other Arabic dialects to a variety of other palatalized or affricated prepalatals, dentals or sibilants such as [ʤ], [g^{j}], [d], [ʒ], [z], [j], [ɟ], [ʧ], [ʦ], to mention only the most common of them; for more details see Zaborski (2007), Kaye (1970), Cantineau (1960:56ff). Within contemporary Egypt we find /g/ in the standard variety as spoken by urbanized persons, which is based on the dialect of the capital Cairo and its surroundings, as well as in modern Alexandria, the central parts of the Delta, in the north-eastern Delta in a corridor stretching along the Damietta branch of the River Nile, and south of Cairo in the Provinces of Fayyūm and Bani Swēf. Other rural areas show one of the other allophones indicated above.[1] The distribution of /g/ ~ /ğ/ parallels within Egyptian territory that of /'/ ~ /g/ (Old Arabic *q), in the sense that the two phonemes show an implicational relationship: /g/ (< *g) implies /'/ or /q/ (< *q), and a dialect with /ğ/ ~ /ž/ (< *g) will have /g/ (< *q).[2]

Classical /ğ/ and Egyptian /g/ both hark back to Semitic /g/, a fact which immediately begs the question whether this Egyptian /g/ derives directly from an older variety of Arabic which had kept the old Semitic /g/ and which did not, like the variety which we call "Classical Arabic", take part in the palatalization and affrication of /g/, or whether this Egyptian /g/ is a newly developed sound, i.e. a de-affrication of /ğ/ or something like it.

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[1] See Behnstedt and Woidich II (1985) maps 10–14.

[2] Exceptions are the oases of Farafra and, partly, Dakhla and Kharga with /q/ and /ž/ or /ğ/. For contact situations see Behnstedt and Woidich I (1985:70).

This question has been answered by Blanc (1969:23, 27), and above all Blanc (1981), who resolves the issue in favour of the idea that Egyptian [g] for ج is an innovation. This position is upheld by Hary (1996) in an article which aptly adduces all the arguments in favour of this opinion. Both assume the depalatalization/back-shifting of the /ǧ/, referring to Bergsträßer's (1928:157) remark "ǧ ist in Ägypten in das altsemitische *g* zurückverschoben" [ǧ has back-shifted in Egypt to the old Semitic g].[3] According to them, this depalatalization dates back to quite recent times and was only completed in the first half of the 19th century. Hary (1996:153) describes the subsequent stages in the following way:

g	=>	g~ǵ~ǧ	=>	ǧ	=>	ǧ~g	=>	g
6th–7th cent.		8th–11th cent.		12th–17th cent.		17th–19th cent.		19th–20th cent.

ǵ has to be seen here as a slightly palatalized /g/ [g^j] and ǧ as a [ʤ].[4] As Zaborski (2007:495b) rightly remarks, this supposed phonetic shift ǧ > g, i.e. from a dental affricate back to a full velar stop contradicts the normal development we know from other language families such as Romance or Germanic languages, all of which show the reverse, i.e. a shift from stop to affricate.[5] In view of this "idiosyncracy of Arabic", as Zaborski loc.cit. puts it—and which, to his astonishment, is advocated by some Arabists –, the arguments put forward in favour of this back-shift deserve a critical investigation.

The purpose of this paper is to review part of the evidence on which Blanc (1981) and Hary (1996) base their assumptions and, then, to adduce further evidence for a far more common and earlier presence of /g/ in Lower Egypt than hitherto suggested. This leads to

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[3] In contrast to Fischer (2002:18 §30 Anm.4, and so already in the first edition 1970): "Die ursprüngliche Aussprache des g ist heute noch in Unterägypten (Kairo) erhalten". [The original pronunciation of g is preserved till today in Lower Egypt (Cairo)], cf. as well Spitta (1880:X).

[4] With palatalization we mean a modification of the /g/ by shifting of "the front edge of the area of tongue-velum contact slightly forwards" (Catford 1988:108) which gives the characteristic [^{j}]-off-glide when the contact is released (Schubiger 1977:78). This is a secondary articulatory gesture (Ladefoged 2006:229) which does not change the primary dorso-velar articulation point of the /g/, and remains subphonemic.

[5] There seems to be a phonetic reason for this apparent asymmetry, as in lab based experiments, the sequence /ki/ is often misinterpreted as /ti/ by listeners, but hardly ever the reverse happens, see Ohala (2005:421). We thank R. de Jong for having brought this to our attention.

the conclusion that the apparent variation between /g/ and /ǧ/ in the documents of the 17th and 18th centuries as described in these two articles rather has to be dealt with as a diatopic/diastratic variation and not as a variation caused by a 'linear development' and as 'sound shift in progress', as described in Hary (1996:153).

2. /g/ Outside Egypt

Egypt is not the only region in the Arabic world with a /g/,[6] corresponding to Classical Arabic /ǧ/ and Semitic /g/, it is attested in South Yemen[7] and in Oman[8], at the periphery of the Arabian Peninsula, as well as in more central regions.[9] Although this geographical distribution of /g/ suggests that /g/ is an old feature which, according to the areal norms of dialect geography, was preserved in the periphery of the area,[10] we cannot use this as an argument here, because these areal norms, developed within Romance and German dialectology with a predominantly sedentary population, are of doubtful usefulness in the Near East with its often migratory regions (see Behnstedt and Woidich 2005:147).[11] May we conclude then that a variety of Arabic with /g/, a realisation of ج well attested for Classical Arabic (see Blanc 1969:11 ff.),[12] was introduced then and did survive some-

[6] Spitta (1880:5) refers to this 'trockene Aussprache' [dry pronunciation] as /g/ of the Egyptian, "die er wahrscheinlich seinen Voreltern aus Jemen und Negd verdankt" [which he presumably owes to his ancestors from Yemen and Naǧd]. For the South-Arabic provenance of certain Egyptian features see Corriente (2008:235).

[7] For Aden see Feghali (1991:XVII). For the Southern part of Yemen see map 2 Behnstedt (1985:42).

[8] Holes (2008:479a).

[9] Wallin (1858:607) reports it for the Naǧd as [g^j] and says: "Diese Aussprache des ج kommt auch dem ägyptischen harten g so nahe, dass ich in den meisten Fällen nicht im Stande war das eine von dem anderen zu unterscheiden ..." [This pronunciation of the ج comes so close to the Egyptian hard g that I was not able in most cases to distinguish one from the other ...]. For the possible existence of /g/ of the Šammar in Tēma see Palva (1980:116).

[10] See Behnstedt and Woidich (2005:141ff.). This does not rule out that the norm can be applied to smaller regions with a predominantly sedentary population of farmers such as the Egyptian Delta.

[11] Cf. already Hockett (1958:480).

[12] As to the case of the phonetic quality of ج, we should keep in mind that Sībawayhi mentions the pronunciation [g] but disapproves of it, see Zaborski (2007:495a), Fleisch (1961:228), thus giving evidence of its existence (see Cantineau 1960:57 in particular for Yemen and Bagdad). Schaade (1911:72 f.) concludes from Sībawayhī's description that [g] existed in Persian loans at least.

how in Egypt? There are other arguments as well for the existence of an Old Arabic /g/ in pre- or early-Islamic times:

1. In Classical Arabic, /ǧ/, a dental affricate, does not belong to the group of "sun letters", i.e. dentals and sibilants which assimilate the /l/ of the article. So we should expect that /ǧ/, i.e. the dental affricate [ʤ], as well, should belong to this group. But it does not, and this fact suggests that the affrication of /g/ must have been a later development which started after the assimilation rules for the article had been established. We can therefore not exclude the possibility that there were varieties of Arabic which did not take part in the affrication of /g/, but whose speakers nevertheless were amongst the tribes who immigrated into Egypt in the 7th century.

2. Another argument for the existence of ج = [g] in pre- and early-Islamic times may be deduced from the facts presented by Arnold-Behnstedt (1993:53) in their study of Arabic-Aramaic relations in the Qalamūn. There are two layers of Arabic loans with ج in Maᶜlūla-Aramaic, an older one with /ġ/ as a reflex of ج (*farraġ* "to watch, view", *ġmōᶜča* "people") and a newer one with /ž/ or /ǧ/ (*žayša/ǧayša* "army", *rōžaᶜ/rōǧaᶜ* "to return"). Aramaic /ġ/ in the first case can only go back to /g/, not to /ǧ/. This means that the speakers of an earlier variety of Arabic which came into contact with Aramaic in Syria must have had /g/ and not /ǧ/.

3. Moroccan dialects display /g/ = [g] instead of /ž/ in words which contain sibilants such as *gəzzār* "butcher", *gləs* "to sit down", *gīš* "army" etc. (Caubet 1993:12; Heath 2002:136 ff; Aguadé 2008:288).[13] Forms with /g/ are rather northern, e.g. *gza, yəgzi* "to suffice", *gəṣṣāṣ* "plasterer", *gəzz* "to shear (sheep)" while more southern dialects show /d/ in the latter forms: *dəṣṣāṣ, dza, yədzi, dəzz*. This is normally explained as a dissimilation of *ǧ in the presence of sibilants, or as "dissimilatory deaffrication" as Heath (2002:136) puts it. Apart from the problematic development [ʤ] > [g], which would involve a change in the primary articulation point, this leaves unexplained why

[13] The actual distribution of /g/- and /d/-forms, in spite of a route north-south basis is 'messy' due to later dialect borrowing, mainly the generalization of old /g/-forms for certain lexical items such as *gəzzār* "butcher", *gləs* "to sit own", *gīš* "army" (Heath 2002:137). For the different forms for *ᶜ*agūz* in North-Morocco see Behnstedt and Benabbu (2005) map 12. In Upper Egypt, [dʲ] > [d] is regular even without the presence of sibilants, see Behnstedt and Woidich II (1985) maps 13,14. With thanks to Peter Behnstedt for clarifying to us the rather complex situation, any errors are our own.

in one dialect /g/ comes up and in others /d/. If we take the velar stop [g] as starting point (**gəbha* "forehead" vs. **gəzz* "to shear") which develops through several steps into the modern [ʒ], this splitting into [g] and [d] can roughly be accounted for in the following way.

	dialects A		dialects B	
origin	*gəbha*	*gəzz*	*gəbha*	*gəzz*
palatalisation	*g^{j}əbha*	*gəzz*	*g^{j}əbha*	*g^{j}əzz*
depalatalisation	*d^{j}əbha*	---	*d^{j}əbha*	*d^{j}əzz*
depalatalisation	---	---	---	*dəzz*
affrication	*ʤəbha*	---	*ʤəbha*	*dəzz*
deaffrication	*ʒəbha*	---	*ʒəbha*	---
	ʒəbha	*gəzz*	*ʒəbha*	*dəzz*

[g] underwent palatalisation to [g^j], except for a large group of dialects A where it remained a velar stop in the presence of sibilants: *gəzz* vs. *g^{j}əbha*. This [g^j] was misinterpreted as [d^j] by the hearers,[14] which resulted in *gəzz* vs. *d^{j}əbha*, and, respectively *d^{j}əzz* vs. *d^{j}əbha* in the other dialects (group B). [d^j] lost its palatal off-glide by dissimilation in the presence of sibilants and became [d]: *dəzz* vs. *d^{j}əbha*. Without the presence of sibilants, [d^j] eventually developed into the prepalatal fricative [ʤ], which lost its closure, thus turning into a sibilant [ʒ]. Again, we have to see this latter development as triggered by the hearer or learner, who did not identify the closure as the primary articulation gesture but the off-glide, so the closure became negligible to him.

If this scenario is correct, Moroccan /g/ in words such as *gəzzār*, *gləs*, *gza*, *gīš* and so on, is not back-shifted from an affricate but represents the oldest stage of /g/.

3. The Blanc (1981)—Hary (1996) Thesis

To put it briefly, Blanc (1981) and Hary (1996) make the following two assumptions:

1. Modern Northern Egyptian /g/ which corresponds to Modern Standard and Classical Arabic /ǧ/ is "zurückverschoben"[15] from the affricated variant, which according to Hary (1996) developed

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[14] For such misinterpretations by hearers see Ohala (2005:421).

[15] I.e. "back-shifted", see Bergsträßer (1928:157).

in the 8th–11th centuries and was the only variant present in the 12th–17th centuries (see Hary's schema above).
2. This back-shifting took place in relatively recent times and was only finished somewhere towards the middle of the 19th century, since in the second half of the 19th century there is no trace of a /ğ/ in Cairo and parts of Lower Egypt and only /g/ is reported.

The argumentation put forward by Blanc (1981) and Hary (1996) is based mainly on two sources: documents from the 17th century written in Jewish Arabic and in Hebrew letters, and on Arabic words, names and phrases reported by European travellers in Early Modern times, among them Forskål's list published in Niebuhr's 1772 account (Danish/German) and others (French).

3.1. *Judeo-Arabic Texts*

It is not necessary here to go into the intricate details of the study of colloquial Arabic transcribed in Hebrew letters. This has been done exemplarily by Blanc (1981), Hary (1996) and others[16], and we are far from questioning their findings. But there is a principal question which has to be raised from the very beginning concerning the interpretation they give to these findings.

This question concerns the relation between a linguistic minority and a linguistic majority, the main-stream variety: can we conclude anything with respect to the dialect of the vast majority from a dialect of a minority spoken in a closed community and which, as Judeo-Arabic ethnolects in general, has to be seen as an "independent linguistic entity" (Hary 1996:154 fn.3)? To put it directly, how far does Jewish Arabic as spoken at certain times in Cairo and Lower Egypt tell us anything about the Arabic spoken by the Muslim majority in Cairo at the same time? In our view, if a variation between /g/ and /ğ/ can be established on the basis of the documents analyzed by Blanc (1981) and Hary (1996), then this tells us in the first instance something about the Jewish Arabic of this time, not necessarily something about the variety in which Jewish Arabic is embedded.[17] In the same vein, if there is a variation of this type, this does not necessarily mean

[16] See Palva (1997) and the article "Judeo-Arabic" in *EALL* III (Geoffrey Khan).
[17] Nobody would come up with similar conclusions in comparable cases such as Jewish Baghdadi and Muslim Baghdadi, or Jewish Tripoli and Muslim Tripoli.

that we have to interpret this fact as an internal phonological development, i.e. as an unusual back-shifting from /ğ/ to /g/. We could as well think of a replacement of /ğ/ by /g/ in Jewish Arabic triggered by sociolinguistic reasons, i.e. by adaptation to the more common and more influential[18] variety of Arabic.[19] For the speakers of Jewish Cairo/Egyptian Arabic, the fact that this mainstream variety had /g/ could well have been a reason to adapt and to switch from /ğ/[20] to this less conspicuous and generally accepted /g/. Following this line of reasoning, we come to a different scenario than the one suggested by Blanc (1981) and Hary (1996). It seems much more likely that /g/ for ج was simply present at that time in Muslim Cairo Arabic and that the Jewish community was in a process of adaptation to the mainstream variety of Muslim Cairo Arabic. The variation displayed in the Judeao-Arabic documents harks back to a sociolinguistically triggered change, not to 'linear development' or 'sound shift in progress'.

3.2. *European travellers' accounts*

The other source which Blanc (1981) and Hary (1996) rely on, are accounts of European travellers, in particular earlier than the beginning of the 18th century. This is where another question comes in: How reliable are the notations of these travellers as evidence for the linguistic situation? Generally speaking, evidence from these sources faces several problems: Firstly, the notations used by these travellers are far from being conclusive and their interpretation remains doubtful. The reason for this is that they had to base them on the, sometimes, not very well established orthography of their maternal

[18] More influential by virtue of the number of speakers it commanded, and hence more frequently encountered by both the adult and children's populations which, in turn, gives it an advantageous position. We thank Enam al Wer for clarifying this point to us.

[19] In the 12th century and immediately afterwards the speech of the Egyptian Jews was of the Maghrebinian type (Blau 1981:55f.). Since later a substantial part of the Cairo Jews were of Andalusian or North African origin, we can safely assume that the original pronunciation at least of this migrated part was an affricate or a sibilant as it was in their homelands.

[20] A similar case can nowadays be observed in Dakhla in Egypt. In the Central and North-Western parts of the oasis, a variation between [g^j] and [g] can be noted, see Behnstedt and Woidich (1982:41), Woidich (2002:823). Rather than assuming a direct phonetic development from [g^j] > [g], it is far more probable that the Cairene [g], always present in the media, is gaining ground.

languages in an accidental, often idiosyncratic way, so many variations and inconsistencies are the rule when it comes to writing down words in an unknown language. Secondly, and more importantly, in most cases we do not know from whom these travellers got their linguistic information, who told them the place names for example, who where their teachers or companions, and where they came from. In particular, in a big city like Cairo, all varieties of Egyptian Arabic may be heard today, and more so in the earlier times, as Cairo has always been a melting pot which attracted people from all over the country to make a living there. In most cases we do not know who the travellers met and who informed them. We even cannot rule out the possibility that what happens today was the order of the day in earlier centuries, namely that foreigners are in the first instance expected to learn and speak a kind of Fuṣḥā, not the plain colloquial of the street or a local dialect, a fact which may have influenced the informants of the travellers as well. Thirdly, some of these early travellers, and in particular the members of the Danish expedition,[21] had studied Arabic already in Europe, i.e. classical Arabic, not the spoken language, often with Maronite teachers.[22] So it is more than likely, even naturally, that the linguistic information[23] they picked up, was filtered by this earlier knowledge and the attitude of their teachers. When talking to an Egyptian in the manner they were taught, i.e. Fuṣḥā-like, the travellers may have received answers in a more Fuṣḥā-like manner by the natives.

In view of this background, it seems not very surprising that irregularities and contradictory notations occur in their accounts, and

[21] The so-called Niebuhr expedition (1761–1765), as Carsten Niebuhr was the only one to survive.

[22] It is interesting to note what Niebuhr as an experienced traveller in Arabic countries says about learning Arabic: “Doch man muß ja nicht glauben, daß man die Araber verstehen werde, wenn man Arabisch aus alten Büchern gelernet hat” (Niebuhr 1772/1969:xv) [But you must not think that you will understand the Arabs, when you have learned Arabic from old books]. Forskål even spent some time in Rome to study Arabic with the Maronites (Niebuhr 1772/1969:xiv). Cairo was the first Arabic speaking place the expedition reached and it would be very astonishing if the Arabic of the members of the expedition were not influenced by the earlier experience with this language they made during their preparations for the expedition. During their stay in Cairo they had Arabic lessons from a Maronite teacher from Aleppo. Judging from his remarks on the Arabic alphabet, Alpin (1581-84) must have studied Arabic as well during his stay in Egypt (see Alpin 1979:165).

[23] Our reference here in particular is to place names or names of animals, plants etc.

that a certain bias to use graphic symbols in Latin script which can be read as an affricate or a sibilant should be expected. Interpreting this heterogeneity as reflecting faithfully the linguistic situation seems a rather bold statement, and any argumentation based on this type of information has to be scrutinized very carefully.

4. More Evidence for gīm

Nevertheless, going through some of these accounts by European travellers we shall detect much more evidence for the existence of /g/ than brought forward by Blanc (1981) and Hary (1996). Moreover, there is new evidence for /g/ from Arabic texts as well which was not available yet to Blanc (1981) and Hary (1996). This evidence does not only corroborate the presence of /g/ in the 17th century, but goes even farther back than the 17th century to the 16th, maybe even to the 15th century. Another strong argument for /g/ comes from the dialect geography of the Egyptian Delta which presents geographical forms of its distribution that must go much farther back in time than the 17th century, when according to Hary (1996) the "Rückverschiebung" started.

4.1. *European Travellers*[24]

From the Danish expedition, Blanc (1981:191) quotes only one single item with {g} {Igauvis} = /iggawwiz/ "er hat geheyrathet" [he married] which is taken from Forskål's word list (see Niebuhr 1774/1968:87). Apparently, only this word list was examined by Blanc (1981), but there is much more data for /g/ to be found in Niebuhr's two accounts. So, only two pages later on p.89, the Upper Egyptian place name {Girge} = /girga/ shows up and gives another piece of evidence for /g/.[25] More importantly, in the first volume of

[24] For a more detailed research see Woidich (to appear).

[25] In three cases Niebuhr writes Calidsg with a {g} at the end for the common Cairo place name *xalīǧ*, Niebuhr 1774/1968:58,110, and we find it again even on the accompanying map. If it is not a simple printing error, this can only be interpreted as intermediate writing between orthography and phonetics. Niebuhr knew that this word had to be written with a letter ج in Arabic, but heard it as a /g/, therefore he mixed it up trying to represent both facts by writing {dsg} instead of {dsj] which he normally uses for transliterating ج. Forskål's plant names have not yet been examined systematically, but there is at least one relevant case *qazalgaq* = Turkish *qyzylǧyq*

Niebuhr (1772/1969:75–94) there are three lists both by Niebuhr and Forskål containing more than 300 place names from the Egyptian Delta, both in transcription and in Arabic script, collected during several trips along both branches of the River Nile and noted according to the pronunciation of the local population.[26] We do not know where his company came from, but in Niebuhr's two lists, 8 out of 32 possible items show {g, gh, gu} in the transcription which in view of the German linguistic background of Niebuhr can only be read as a phonetic [g]. Moreover, from these place names, 5 are written in Arabic script with a ڭ, presumably the *kāf al-ᶜağamīya*. To give an example:

اسريكه Isrîghe Niebuhr (1774/1968:82) = اسريجه Ramzī[27] 2,2:213

More surprisingly even, when we look at the corresponding map of the Delta given in Niebuhr (1774/1968) on page 88, we note that 7 out of the 8 place names with /g/ are located at the Damietta branch of the Nile, thus following the same distributional pattern of /g/ as today (see section 5 below). Niebuhr's map on p.88 is not in perfect agreement with his lists, some items are not present in the lists and vice versa, but nevertheless it reflects even more clearly the same distribution of graphemes standing for /g/ with 9 out of 13 lying on the Damietta branch (Rašīd-branch: one out of 18).

Forskål, unfortunately, contains only place names from the Western branch, the way between Rosetta and Cairo. He notes only 2 cases out of 14 with /ğ/, but 12 with /g/ = (one with ك in Arabic script, the rest with ج = {g} or {gh}). This pattern is unexpected, because today we hear mainly [ʤ] or [ʒ] there. Why do we find so many /g/ here in contrast to Niebuhr's list? The reason is, as Niebuhr tells us p.91 fn., that they corrected Forskål's notes and had them written in Arabic script by their scribe according to the pronunciation of his donkey driver in Cairo, and this must be the reason why so many voiced velar stops /g/ show up here. The only conclusion to

"European cornel" [Kornelkirsche, Cornus mas L.], quoted in Meyerhof (1918:199 fn.149).

[26] Niebuhr had a scribe write down and read aloud "nach der Mundart der Leute, die mich begleitet hatten" [according to the idiom of the people who had accompanied me] the names of the towns and villages he had recorded during his trips on the two arms of the River Nile (Niebuhr 1774/1968:72).

[27] Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-ğuġrāfī li-l-bilād al-miṣrīya.* al-Qism al-ṯānī al-ğuz' al-ṯānī. al-Qāhira 1958.

be drawn here is that /g/ was much more widespread and consolidated in the 18th century than these earlier studies suggest.

If we go further back in time, we find traces of a similar variation of [ɡ] ~ [ʤ] in earlier travellers' accounts. In his accounts of Egyptian Medicine, Botany and Natural History, Alpin (1979), (1980a), and (1980b) respectively, the Venetian physician and scientist Prosper Alpin, who visited Egypt from 1581 to 1584, writes a couple of words with spellings which suggest a pronunciation [ɡ], besides others which presumably should be read [ʤ]. For example, talking of the famous *xalīǧ* "canal" of Cairo he writes twice a {g} as in {caleg} (Alpin 1980b:118), {calig} (Alpin 1981a:92), elsewhere written with a {z} {caliz} (Alpin 1979:166; 1980b:34,116) which could be read as [ʤ]. Other cases would be {uzeg} for *ʿawsag* (Lycium Shawii, Alpin 1980b:60) and {hamirag} (Alpin 1980b:76), which represents *'amīr alḥāgg*. This means that we find here the same alternations as in Niebuhr's and Forskål's lists, but 180 years earlier.

At the same time as Alpin, in 1581 the German pilgrim Salomon Schweigger visited the Holy Land and wrote a book in German on his travels from Constantinople, to Jerusalem and Egypt, which was printed in Nuremberg in 1608. It includes a chapter called "Von den Sprachen in Aegypten"[28] [On the languages in Egypt], where he notes that both Arabic and Turkish are in use there, and that these two languages are mutually unintelligeable, but that the Egyptian numerals can be compared with the Hebrew ones. He further gives a list with several words which he clearly notes down as Egyptian (Schweigger 1608/1964:266), some of them written with a {g} or {G}, which can according to German orthography only be read as a /g/: {Nigme} "Stern" [star], {Ragil} "Mensch" [human being[29]], {Gibne} "Käß" [cheese]. There is only one case of a grapheme cluster which has to be interpreted as a /ǧ/, namely {dscherma} "Meerschifflein" [small sea-going boat] written perfectly following German writing conven-

[28] Schweigger (1608/1964:265). Schweigger spent only about three weeks in Alexandria and Rosetta, and could not continue the planned tour to Cairo and Sinai because of the plague (Schweigger 1608/1964:256). So he had to go on to Palestine directly by sea. Apparently, this was enough time to make interesting annotations, not only linguistic ones, which must rely on direct observation. Anyway, his way of writing differs so much from von Harff's and Breydenbach's that copying from these earlier lists can be excluded.

[29] Of course a misunderstanding for "man".

tions, and which represents the Italian word *germa*[30]. This means when Schweigger heard an affricate, he wrote it as such, and, accordingly, any {g} in his list should be read as a velar stop. There is only indirect evidence for /ğ/ in Schweigger's list, because, not very surprisingly, he was not able to distinguish different dialects of Egyptian Arabic and he mixes them. So we find in his list {zagid} "schlaffen" [to sleep][31] with a /g/, this time harking back to a *q, and dialects with *q > /g/ normally have an affricated variant of *g (see the implictions given in the introduction). All in all, Schweigger (1608) offers a clear evidence for /g/ in the Egypt of the 16th century.

Ninety years before Schweigger, in 1496, another pilgrim, the German knight Arnold von Harff left Cologne to Rome and then Venice, where he embarked for the Holy Land. He passed through Egypt, where he spent about four months. After having completed his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he continued to Constantinople, then to Venice again, then to Santiago in Spain, returning, finally, to his hometown after an absence of nearly three years. Apparently he was an amateur linguist, because his account, while sometimes all too fanciful and not very reliable as to its stories and adventures,[32] contains word lists for 9 languages (Albanian, Arabic, Basque/Euscarian, Bretonic, Croatian, Greek, Hebrew, Hungarian and Turkish), besides specimens of 8 different alphabets. His Arabic list has been examined by Stumme (1914) and Grotzfeld (1995), and both rightly come to the conclusion that these words reflect a Syro-Palestine urban dialect.[33] Words containing *g are all represented here with graphemes like {s} and {z}, which indicates an affricated or sibilant pronunciation. But we have to look farther than the word list. In the description of his voyage from Alexandria to Cairo by ship on the Rosetta branch of the Nile he talks about an island called in Arabic {Getzera de Heppe} /gizīrit iddahab/, a name which he correctly translates with "eyn insull des goltz" [an Island of gold]. This could be read with /g/ according to German orthography, but there are some doubts about this. Von

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[30] Schweigger (1608/1964:255, 256). Ital. *germa* "bastimento mercantile usato sulla costa egiziana" (Randall Herz, Die `Reise ins Gelobte Land` Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479–1480), p. 574u. Wiesbaden: 2002.

[31] Apparently misprinted for {ragid}.

[32] Harff's pilgrimage has been studied and written on intensively, see Groote (1860), Hetzer (1981), Khattab (1982), Beckers (1985), Brall-Tuchel (2008).

[33] About two thirds of his list are copied from an earlier list by Breydenbach, see Khattab (1982:310).

Harff must have been familiar with Italian or Venetian, since he did his pilgrimage mostly in company with Venetian merchants, and he could have applied the orthographic rules of these languages to render /ğ/. Indeed, he occasionally applies {g} for [ʒ] in other word lists, writing for example Croatian ***žena*** "woman" as {gena}, see Stumme 1914:33. In this latter case, the {Getzera} must be read /ğizīra/.

Judging from this evidence from von Harff, we cannot establish the existence of /g/ in Egypt at that time for sure, but we cannot exclude it either, since this only one example is too inconclusive. But from the other evidence provided by Alpin and Schweigger we may safely assume that the same variation as stated by Blanc (1981) and Hary (1996) for the 17th and 18th centuries, already existed in the 16th century, thus prolonging its existence with 100 years. It is rather unlikely in our view that a linear phonetic backshift from /ğ/ to /g/ in Cairo should have taken more than 300 years until its completion. The variation must have other reasons.

4.2. *Arabic Sources*

Another piece of evidence for earlier /g/ comes from a hitherto unknown passage in Širbīnī's Hazz al-Quḥūf. Davies 2005:XXXV, in the introduction to his new edition of this important source for Egyptian Arabic in the 17th century, quotes a verse (p.207,7 of the edition) which runs as follows: يقول يا قاضي بحرف الجيم "He says, 'O Gāḍī!' with the letter ج". The person about whom this is said, is a peasant. The equalisation of this sound with the letter ج makes only sense if we suppose that the actual pronunciation of this letter was [g] and not [ʤ], since [g] is a reflex for ق in many regions of Egypt, whereas the affricated [ʤ] as a reflex of the latter, common nowadays for example in Najdi dialects, is nowhere attested for Egypt. So it is rather safe to assume that Širbīnī meant that this peasant pronounced *q as a ج [g]. The circumstance that this fact is used here for description and comparison means that the pronunciation [g] for ج must have been commonplace for Širbīnī, contrary to what Blanc (1981:192) says based on older editions of Širbīnī. This means that [g] is attested as closely connected with the letter ج about 70 years earlier than Blanc could conclude from his sources.

Yet another hint for [g] as a usual pronunciation comes from the second important source for the 17th century, i.e. Yūsuf al-Maġribī's

Dafᶜ al-Iṣr ᶜan kalām 'ahl Miṣr, written in 1606.[34] Though al-Maġhribī never states explicitly that ج was pronounced /g/ in Cairo at that time,[35] there is indirect proof of this in the form of a *mawwāl* which displays a type of pun called *zahr,* a word play which involves phonetic modification.[36]

جبّيت مَوّال في المحبوب وهوجابّ بيت
جبّيت حسودي ولي قال الورىجبّيت
والحبّ في قهوته قال لي عليك جبّيت
هو جاد ببوسه ومصّه قمت انا جبّيت

gabbēt [gabbēt] *mawwāl fi-l-maḥbūb wi hū gāb bēt* [gabbēt]
gabbēt [kabbēt] *ḥasūdī wi lī qāl ilwarā gabbēt* [gabbēt]
wi l-ḥabbə fī qahwatu qāl lī ᶜalēk gabbēt [gabbēt < *gabba]
wi gād bi-bōsu wi maṣṣu qumt anā gabbēt [kabbēt]

I brought up a *mawwāl* for the beloved and he brought up one back,
I threw out my envious (adversary) and all mankind said to me: you won (you gave the final answer),
So the coffee beans (nipples) inside his coffee (areola) said to me: we give ourselves to you for free,
He was generous with kissing and sucking, so I came.[37]

The point of this *mawwāl* is the pronunciation and the interpretation of the sequence *gabbēt*. In the first line it is a variant of *gibt* "I brought", a form which today can be found in the Kharga-Oasis (Behnstedt and Woidich 1994:55).[38] The last word of the first line, *gāb bēt* 'he came up with a verse', sounds the same as *gabbēt* and gives an example of *zahr* involving phonetic similarity 'at the level of the morphemic tiers of the consonantal root' (Eisele 1997:751). In the second and fourth line, it should be read as *kabbēt* 'I threw out' (line 2) and 'I came, ejaculated' (line 4). This is an indication that in al-Maġribī's time, the letter ج was pronounced as /g/, because the association of /g/ with /k/, from voiced to voiceless velar plosive (*gabbēt—kabbēt*), is very plausible, while it is far less plausible that /ǧ/ could be

[34] See Zack 2009: 5.
[35] The other evidence for /ǧ/ adduced by Blanc 1981 (*ragl*, *lagan*) is rather doubtful and presumably a misinterpretation, see Zack 2009:86 f..
[36] On *zahr* in Egyptian popular poetry see Slyomovics 1987:9f, Cachia 1989: 34;60ff, Eisele 1997.
[37] We thank Eli Kallas for helping us with the translation of this *mawwāl.*
[38] For forms like *kannēt* for *kunt* 'you were' in Sudan see Reichmuth 1983:244.

associated with /k/. In fact, Cachia (1989:142) mentions an example of devoicing of /g/ to /k/ in a *mawwāl: gamkann* (*kām kān*). Eisele 1997:754, too, notes that in the *zahr* puns, "the most common type of feature change involves voicing or devoicing, and less often a change in emphasis". Again, we may conclude from this that at al-Maġhribī's time ج pronounced as a velar stop /g/ was a common feature.

5. Evidence from Dialect Geography

With the appearance of the Egyptian dialect atlas in 1985, another argument not available to Blanc (1981) comes into play, namely the geographic distribution of /g/ and /ǧ/ in the Nile Delta, which we have already referred to when talking about Niebuhr's place names. /g/, paralleled by the glottal stop [ʔ] for *q, extends from Cairo to the centre of the Delta and, more importantly, along the Eastern branch of the River Nile up to Dumyāṭ (Damietta). Dumyāṭ was in the Middle Ages the major port of Egypt for the trade from and towards the Levant. The picture displayed on the map can be interpreted in two ways: It could show the spreading of the Cairene feature /g/ along the medieval trade route[39] in a corridor along the Damietta branch of the River Nile dividing the rest of the Delta into two parts with /ǧ/ ~ /ž/ (< *g) and /g/ (< *q). More likely seems to us is the reverse interpretation, i.e. the resistance of /g/ in this corridor to the impact of Bedouin or bedouinised dialects with /ǧ/ from the western and eastern parts of the Delta. /g/, which may have covered originally the whole Delta, was backed by the existence of this trade route and the entailing influence of Cairo Arabic against the spread of an affricated /ǧ/ imported with the influx of Bedouin tribes settling on the East and West flanks of the Delta throughout the Middle Ages (Barrierenrelikt).[40]

In either case, the sheer existence of this corridor makes clear that the pronunciation /g/ must be old, since it takes centuries to develop such a geographical pattern.[41] If we assume the first scenario

[39] For the existence of this trade route see Behnstedt and Woidich II (1985) map 551.

[40] See for more discussion Woidich (1996:346 f.) and Behnstedt and Woidich (2005:157 f.).

[41] /g~ǧ/ and /'~g/ are not the only isoglosses to delimit this corridor, see Woidich (1996:346 f.) and Behnstedt and Woidich (2005:157 f.).

as correct, we have to conclude that it harks back at least to the Middle Ages when this trade route between Cairo and Dumyāṭ was active. Since Alexandria regained its economical importance, which led to the reactivation of the Rosetta trade route, only at the beginning of the 19th century, a change of /ǧ/ to /g/ in the 18th and 19th centuries in Cairo as proposed by Blanc 1981 and Hary 1996, can hardly explain today's geographical distribution of /g/. If Cairo had had /ǧ/ in the late Middle Ages, there would have been no reason for /g/ to spread along the trade route, because it simply would not have existed yet. By the same token, the reverse scenario presupposes /g/ at even an earlier stage, presumably from the time of the Arabic conquest of Egypt onward. Either way, /g/ in this area must be a relic from a far past.

Conclusion

With the evidence examined in this paper, both from European and Arabic sources, we hope to make clear that the voiced velar plosive /g/ was much more common in Egypt and existed there, along with the voiced dental affricate /ǧ/, long before the 17th century as supposed by Blanc 1981 and Hary 1996. In particular the dialect geographical evidence suggests that /g/ has been present in Northern Egyptian Arabic since very early times, presumably from the Arabic conquest onwards, and that there has been no 'linear development' g > g^j > ǧ > g as sketched by Hary 1996. The final part of this scenario seems unlikely for phonetic reasons, since a /ǧ/ [ʤ] would rather be interpreted as a [d] or a [ʒ] by hearers and learners and replaced by one of these two sounds, not as a [g].

The apparent variation /g/ ~ /ǧ/ displayed in the Jewish Arabic documents and the accounts of European pilgrims and voyagers of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries does not necessarily point to a linear internal back-shifting of a dental affricate /ǧ/ to a velar /g/. It can also be accounted for by the assumption that a /ǧ/-speaking minority adapted to a /g/-speaking majority, thus giving way to fluctuation and variation in written texts. With regard to the travellers' accounts, we have to take into consideration that their knowledge of Arabic was poor, and their informants and sources are unknown. Apparently, they took from different dialects. Many of them had no consistent way of rendering Arabic sounds in Latin script, and were, at least the scientists among them (Niebuhr, Forskål), influenced by

their knowledge of Classical Arabic. Again, this leads to a variation in these accounts between writings which have to be interpreted as /ǧ/, and others which should be read as /g/.[42] Nevertheless, closer examination brings to light many more cases than hitherto assumed which point to the existence of /g/. And, astonishingly enough, the distribution of place names with /g/ on Niebuhr's map corresponds to the actual distribution of /g/ today.

This leads us to the assumption that speakers with /g/ and speakers with /ǧ/ coexisted for a very long time, i.e. a situation similar to what we find today, but, presumably, with a different geographical distribution. There might have been a slight palatalisation of the /g/ as assumed by Blanc (1981) from the very beginning onwards,[43] which in some places may have developed further to /ǧ/ or, more likely, have been replaced by /ǧ/ due to Bedouin impact, but at the same time it seems obvious that /g/ [g ~ g^j] must have survived in other places as in Cairo, the Center of the Delta and along the Damietta branch of the River Nile. In the long run, apparently, the /g/-speakers gained ground in Cairo and many /ǧ/-speakers, including minority groups such as the Jews, switched over to /g/ [g], thus adapting to the more common and less conspicuous variant.[44]

At the moment we can only infer all this on the grounds of the linguistic data found so far in these sources. We can only hope that in the future more documents will come to light which would give us more insight into the social and the linguistic history of Egypt, in order to test the thesis presented in this article even further.

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[42] This all holds true, as a matter of course, for other features as well, for example the writing of glottal stops, pharyngeals, diphthongs vs. monophthongs and so on.

[43] Zaborski (2007:435a) suggests the possibility of subphonemic palatalizations in other Semitic languages as well.

[44] This scenario would also explain such cases as ***wišš*** "face" and ***ištaṛṛ*** "to ruminate" which go back to *waǧh and *iǧtarr, but had developed a sibilant /š/ in these words. Speakers adapting to /g/-speakers would make up a transfer rule /ǧ/ → /g/ which would not account for ***wišš, ištarr***, the sibilant being identified with the phoneme /š/. ***wišš, ištarr*** could later have spread to the whole community.

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ADDENDUM: Further evidence for /g/ in Egypt as a standard pronunciation in the early 19th century offers the account of Seetzen on his stay in Cairo and Lower Egypt between 1807 and 1809, see "Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönizien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten. Hersg. und commentiert von Professor Dr. Fr. Kruse. Dritter Band. Berlin 1855. Verlegt bei G. Reiner". Besides a significant number of transcriptions containing {g} rather than {dsch}, Seetzen clearly notes with reference to sycomores: "Dschümmês oder nach ägyptischem Dialekt Gümmês" (158) [Dschümmês or in Egyptian dialect Gümmês] and "Sycomoren (Gümmês nach ägyptischer, und Dschümmês nach syrischer Aussprache)" (346) [Gümmês according to Egyptian, and Dschümmês according to Syrian pronunciation]. Seetzen, who had learned his colloquial Arabic in Aleppo, obviously considers /g/ as an Egyptian standard in the same way as for him the affricate is 'Syrian'.



DESCRIPTIVE DIALECTOLOGY

WORDS AND THINGS

Peter Behnstedt

1. Introduction

"Wörter und Sachen" ("words and things") is a well-known linguistic concept which was refined by the Indo-Europeanist R. Meininger and the romanist H. Schuchardt in the late 19th century and which had become some kind of a linguistic movement during earlier studies, especially in dialect geography. It simply means that one has not only to study "the words", their meanings and history, but also "the things", the cultural artefacts and concepts, which are designated.[1] The concept is meanwhile well-established, and to come right to the point: "a lamb" within an Arab sheep-rearer's world is not simply "a lamb", it might be "weaned", "fat", "have two or four new incisors", it might be "one year old or two" and consequently have different names. "A well" in Arabic dialects is not simply a well, it may be deep, shallow, narrow, broad, dry in summer, have much water, have little water, it may be walled or not, with bricks or something else, etc. Accordingly, different designations may be used.[2] Differences in vocabulary of various dialects, which apparently are regional synonyms, as for example English "cock—rooster", may be due to (sometimes slight) material differences of the things which are named.

Some of the problems which arise when working on the lexical maps for the "Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte" (WAD) are related to the reliability of the data in so many different sources to be consulted, the ambiguity of the words themselves, their translations into different languages (does "herbe" in a French source mean "grass" or "herb"?), certain inaccuracies of translations, but also differences

[1] One of the results of this "school" was K. Jaberg, J. Jud: *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz*.

[2] For the different types of wells and their designations cf. Behnstedt and Woidich 2005: 201-204.

in material culture, and sometimes different perceptions of reality. The *qibla*, the direction to which Muslims turn in praying, is for them an important geographical point of reference, but according to the speaker's position *gibla, gibli* may mean "south, southern" (e.g. in Egypt), "north, northern" (e.g. in Yemen), "west, western" (e.g. in Ḥaḍramawt, Ḏufār, Uzbekistan), strangely enough also in eastern Mauritania, where it should mean "east", but where it primarily does not refer to the *qibla*, but to the *gəbla,* the southwestern region of this country. In the Shukriyya dialect of Sudan, of course, it means "east, eastern".[3] "Green" and "blue" for a Berber from northern Morocco are the same colour, in some Arabic dialects *azrag* is not only "blue", but also "brown" or "black". For a westerner a "bed" normally implies a bed-stead, Arabs might differentiate between a "bed-stead" and "a bed which consists of a mattress and blankets directly put on the ground", or they may mean by *fṛāš* "bed" = "a bed with the necessary fittings like blankets, mattress etc.". For "us" *lizard* is a quite clearly defined general term for a certain species of animals. In many Arabic dialects there exists no such general term, often only the subspecies are distinguished. So when a form like *lizagah* is translated by "lizard" in whatever source, one has to suppose that a "gecko" was meant.

When using the different sources every word has to be weighed and scrutinized. Here are a few examples[4].

2. Village

The concept of "village" seems to be quite clear. A village can be defined as "a rural settlement bigger than a hamlet and smaller than a town". So the different designations one can find for it should not pose any problem. There is a neat geographical distribution as for the different terms. The problem is, however, that often closely related

[3] Somebody who is not familiar with Arabic, reading such forms in an atlas may think that the explorers have confounded the cardinal points. Errors during field work do occur. In the beginnings of French dialect geography, by one explorer completely different objects were noted by the same word: *šepá*. It turned out to be a "badly" pronounced French "je ne sais pas"!

[4] Many of the examples quoted are from the WAD questionnaires filled in by the collaborators of the WAD project. Many thanks to them, also to Manfred Woidich who in the last minute has provided me with more material.

meanings cover a wider area. This is partly a cartographic problem. When stating on a map by colouring or by symbols that *ḥilla, hille, hile* "village" is typical for Sudan, Chad and Nigerian Arabic, the map also should show that the form is common in bedouin dialects of the Arabian peninsula but with the meaning of "collection of tents, camp" (Kurpershoek); cf. also Oman *ḥilla* "small settlement" (Brockett). In such cases, of course, an accompanying semasiological map showing the semantic field would be more appropriate.

ḍayʿa ~ *ḍēʿa* are restricted to Lebanon, Syria (sedentary dialects), dialects of Turkey namely those of Antiochia, Cilicia and Anatolia.

kafr (čafr) used in the Nile Delta is equally common in the *ḍayʿa*-area, but only in the topography (e.g. *Kafr Ḥalab, Kfar ʿAbīda*).

The form *firīğ* seems to be restricted to Khuzistan ("we say firīj" Ingham 1982: 171) and the Trucial Coast (Johnstone 1967: 171), cf. also Holes 2001: 394b *farīg, firīğ* "quarter, neighbourhood", Shukriyya/Sudan *farīg* "Zeltreihe" (Reichmuth 231 = "row of tents"), Kurpershoek *firīğ* "a camp of 5 -10 tents", "a camp with less than ten tents". Other forms for "village" in Khuzistan Arabic are in the pl. *iddihāt* "the villages" from Persian *dehāt* in Ingham 1982: 174, *dīra* ibidem; *nazil* in Ingham 1982: 170 is translated p. 171 by "settlement".

The form *dīra* "village", given in Ingham 1982: 168 for Kūt/Iraq (*iddīra jirīb*, translated p. 169 "The village [that I came from] is quite close"), is also used in Baḥrayn as "village, town, populated area (as opposed to *barr*)" Holes 2000: 186a, in Oman Holes 1998: 356, but means in Woodhead-Beene "district, area, region", in Meissner 122 *dīre* = "Land, Gegend". German "Land" is ambigous. Does it mean "land" or "countryside"? "Countryside" quite would fit with "village". In Kurpershoek *dīra* is "territory, region, tribal homeland"; cf. also untranslated *dīra* in Ingham 1982: 110 "go back and return to your *dīra*", 157 "the *dīra* of Tubbaʿ". Here again we have the same problem as with *ḥilla*. *dīra* is typical for a certain area, but has different related meanings.

Finding *ḥāra* "village" in Brockett at first glance might amaze the reader, since normally it means "quarter of a town or a village", but cf. above the polysemy of *farīg—firīğ*. Also Rhodokanakis I 89 *menâder* "Dörfer" seems strange, since elsewhere in Oman it corresponds to *bender* = "the Khābūra fort", "'market' near the Khābūra fort" (Brocket), or in Baḥrayn *bandar* "port" (Holes 2001: 55b); cf.

also Egyptian *bandaṛ* "town in contrast to village" which is the contrary of the meaning given by Rhodokanakis.[5]

As for *qarya*, *ğarya*, they are the current forms in Syrian bedouin dialects *(ğarya)*, Iraqi Arabic (*qarya*), Khorasan (*ğarya*), Palestine, Jordan, Yemen, Oman, Libya. Being pan-arabic *qarya* may be used in Sudan as an elevated form for modern villages (cf. Reichmuth 46 = *ġarya*; cf. also Chad *xarya*) and may be used as a parallel form elsewhere (e.g. Rhodokanakis I 111 *giryeten* ~ *girīten*).

balad, too, can be considered pan-arabic being the most common form in Northern Africa (in the Maghreb often in the plural *blād*), but may be used also in Sudan (Hillelson), the Levant, Oman (Brockett), the Gulf etc.

nağᶜ, very common in the topography of the Nile valley (cf. *Nagᶜ Ḥammādi*, nowadays a town) normally refers to a hamlet of Bedouin settlers at the the border of the cultivated land and the desert.

Typical Maghrebi forms are *dašra, dəšṛa* (e.g. Ph. Marçais 505, W. Marçais 20) and *duwwāṛ.*

The area of *dašra, dəšra* begins in southern Tunisia, but in the Marāzīg region it is restricted to place names, "village" being called *blayyda*.

The form *dašra* is still used in Ḥassānīya Arabic. For my younger informants for northern Ḥassānīya *dašṛa*, however, was "a big town", a "village" for them was *blāṣa* or *qarya*[6]. When checking up this contradiction in Taine-Cheikh the word turned out to be ambiguous. Taine-Cheikh, indeed, gives "ville" and "village". So does Heath. For original tent-dwellers obviously the main contrast to be named was that of "fixed settlement with houses, whether big or small" vs. "movable campment of tents". Other "synonyms" for "village" to be found in Taine-Cheikh have special meanings, namely *kṣar* which also elsewhere in the Maghreb is "a fortified village", or *āgemni* "village de paillotes", *edebāy* "village d'affranchi cultivateurs".

The *duwwāṛ* originally meant a "campment of tents" and is still used in this sense in Algeria and Morocco. In Algeria it is rather used by bedouins or rural people, city-dwellers using *blād* or even French *village*. *bādyih* in Jiblih/Yemen translated by "Dorf"[7] is rather "countryside, especially in the lowlands".

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[5] Explained in footnote 1: *al-banādir* = *al-bilād* (written in unvocalized Arabic).

[6] They were from Tindouf (Algeria) and possibly *blāṣa* is due to Algerian influence. The form is not to be found in Taine-Cheikh.

[7] See Behnstedt 1992 s.v. The translation is not mine.

3. Kitchen

The concept of "kitchen" as a special room of a house or an appartment in which cooking is performed is not universal due to different material cultures. It does not fit with a bedouin tent, where there might be found a *māgad* ~ *mawgad* a fire place e.g. in the women's part of the tent (*maḥram*, *mḥaram*)[8]. As for Germanic languages the concept and the designation of "kitchen" are not original: *kitchen, keuken, Küche* are derived from late Latin *coquina* with respective phonetical changes and have been introduced to Nordic languages (*kök*) via Middle Low German. This loanword implies that a "kitchen" as a special room for cooking formerly was unknown in the North. Anglo-Saxon houses had indeed only one room with a hearth for cooking, heating and light.

Arabic *maṭbax* mainly used in the Mašriq (partly in Libya besides *kučīna*; Egypt, the Levant, Iraq etc.) is according to Lane only "a place of cooking, a place in which cooking is performed", thus not necessarily a special room in a house as implies a modern *maṭbax*. The fact that the Maghreb almost as a whole has *kūzīn, kūžīna, kūzīna, kəššīna* from different Romance sources (French, Italian) for a kitchen in our modern European sense might suggest that something new had been introduced to the Maghreb by European colonialists. This would be too simplistic. Words and concepts like *sīmāna* "week", *lāfāmīy* "family" (the latter normally used with the French definite article), very common in Maghrebi Arabic, certainly are not European inventions introduced to the Maghreb with their respective French or Spanish designations. That there is no lacuna in the vocabulary as for "kitchen", is shown by the forms e.g. in ʿAsīr and Barādah province in Saudi-Arabia. Traditional houses there have a *maṭbax* as a "common kitchen for summer time" in the ground floor or a *muġlaq wa maṭbax* as a "store-room and kitchen in the upper floor" (Dostal 16, 17).

As for the geographical distribution there are, as said above, two major areas with either *kūzīna* etc. (West) or *maṭbax* (East). The lateral areas Sudan, Chad, Uganda, Kenia, the South of the Arabian peninsula, Uzbekistan have their own designations partly of non-Arabic origin like Uzbekistan Arabic *ōšxōna* from Tajik (Chikovani

[8] See List 87 *māgad qahwa*, 83 *mḥaram* and similars.

11) or Ki-Nubi *jokón* from Swahili *jiko-ni* "in the kitchen" (Heine 76).

Some of the forms to be found in Yemen do not imply the idea of a special room for cooking in the interior of a house. The forms *daymeh (daymih), dēmeh* in the central highlands refer to a special hut for cooking outside the house proper. The original meaning must be "hut", since *daymeh* is also to be found in the meaning of "guard's house" mostly in fields, especially *qāt*-plantations[9]. Another designation of the "kitchen" also refers to a hut, namely *kibs* used in the Ḥarīb area, which originally means "earth with which a well, ...a cavitiy or pit ... is filled up" (Lane), in Wahrmund also as "Lehmhütte" ("hut made of clay"). The northern Sudanese *xuss* (Hillelson 1925) is nothing else than *xuṣṣ* "hut", which in Egyptian Arabic is a "hut made of leafage for storage". A "conical grass hut, especially kitchen" is also Sudanese *tukl, tukul* in Hillelson 1935 206a. Qāsim 93a quotes *tukul*, pl. *takala = al-maṭbax wa laᶜallahu summiya kaḏālika li'annahu ᶜādatan yakūnu matkūl* (sic!) *'ay masnūd 'ilā l-bayt*; cf. also in Qāsim *takala, takalān = al-ᶜitimād*. As for southwestern Saudi-Arabia Dostal only gives the form *maṭbax. masgaf* "kitchen" documented for Rufaydah in Prochazka 17 is related to *misgaf* in Landberg 1901: 399 (with drawing) which refers to the fourth floor of the house where the kitchen *maxdam* or *maᶜsam* is to be found. *maᶜsam* according to footnote 2 p. 399 is derived from *ᶜsm* (not vocalized) "faire la cuisine, *ᶜassām* cuisinier seulem. en Ḥḍ. *ṭbx* et *qly* sont inconnus dans le sud (Yéman et Aden exceptés comme toujours.)". Yemeni *mawgad* in the outermost north originally refers to the "oven" (see below).

ḥjūwu in the Yemeni Tihāmah had been elicited without asking about its type[10]. The form might imply another type of cooking place. Landberg 1920-1942: 375 is more precise and gives *ḥāğī* "cuisine sur le toit" for the Ḥugarīyah, meaning in Ḥaḏramawt "cour de la maison". One possible place for cooking, indeed, is the courtyard of a

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[9] In Ṣanᶜ ā' *daymih* is the older form, to be found within the house, *maṭbax* is the modern one.

[10] The form was elicited in Zabīd and as-Suwayq west of Zabīd. A "last minute information" comes from Samia Naïm (WAD questionnaire for Zabīd) which indicates *ṣaqīfah* "cuisine traditionnelle" and *maṭbax* "cuisine". It has to be verified what kind of "kitchen" *ṣaqīfah* is, one on the roof of the house or a roofed cooking place, e.g. in a courtyard.

house, which can be partly roofed as in Upper Egypt: *bēt il-fuṛn* (Behnstedt and Woidich).

murakkab (Mecca)[11], *marčab* (al-Qahabah in Prochazka 16) "kitchen", yemeni Tihāmah *marakkabu* "oven" (M.-C. Simeone-Senelle et al. 221), are related to Sudanese *rakkab aš-šāy = waḍaᶜahu ᶜalā n-nār, rakkab al-lūba = ṭabaxahu* (sic!) *bi-waḍᶜihi ᶜalā n-nār* (Qāsim), *rakkab* "faire cuire dans l'eau" (Pommerol), *rekkeb* "cuire", *terkīb* "cuisson" (Roth-Laly), Nigerian *rakkab, birakkib* "to cook" (Kaye). The forms reflect the idea of putting sth. on the fire, but might also be influenced (metathesis?) by *karrab* "allumer (le feu), s'enflammer" (Pommerol), Landberg 1920-1942: 2564 *takarrab* "se chauffer au feu", 2565 *karīb, makrīb* "feu"; cf. also *karab-āb* "kitchen" in Sudanese Arabic (Hillelson) which sounds like a loan from Beja; cf. further Chadian Arabic *bēt an-nār* "kitchen". Also to "fire" ("flame") refers *milhab* in Rijāl Alma in the Saudi ᶜAsīr province.

The Chadian forms *ladāy, bēt al-ladāy* originally do not refer to a room, but to an object (**al-adāy* = CA *al-'adāh* "tool, implement"), namely the fireplace made of three stones. *ladāy* is polysemic. Pommerol gives "foyer, pierres du foyer, cuisine, trois pierres constituant le foyer de la cuisine, trépied qui cale et soutient la marmite".

4. Baking Oven

The problems of interpretation partly result from the ambiguity of Arabic terms and are mainly cartographic. One and the same word might designate "a baking oven, a baking pit, a bakery, a furnace" or according to the form of the oven different terms might be used. A baking oven might be rectangular, bell-shaped, cylindrical or conic. Forms like *ṭabūn* ~ *ṭabūna* ~ *ṭabōna* used in Upper Egypt, Sudan, Lebanon, Palestine, but also in Tunisia, and sporadically even in Yemen, do not necessarily refer to a certain type as suggest Dalman 74 ff. and the photographs nr. 12, 13 and 14, also Behnstedt and Woidich 417, which show bell-shaped implements in contrast to the very rudimentary drawing in Saada table XI which is conic having at its side a rectangular block for putting the bread on it. As for Egypt, *ṭabūna* rather appplies to a bell-shaped oven, but this might

[11] As for the form cf. *muṣallan* "place of prayer".

also be called *fuṛn* etc., and in Sudan according to Qāsim 469b *ṭabūn* is a *ḥufra tuḥfaḍ fīha n-nār*.

The *tannūṛ,* however, often has a certain form, i.e., it is cylindrical whether underground or overground and implies the sticking of the dough to its walls. The form *tannūṛ* (Ḥaḍramawt, Ḏufār: *tinnār*) at first glance seems to be mainly used on the Arabian peninsula (Levant, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, the Gulf, Yemen, see e.g. Dostal 29, Kurpershoek, Reinhardt 78 etc.) and adjacent areas (Anatolia, also Uzbekistan *tandīr*). For Abu Ḏabi Rawi 197 gives the meaning "Backgrube" ("baking pit"). Hillelson quotes it also for Sudan as "furnace" ("oven" being *furn* or *ṭabūna*). The form stretches into the Maghreb and Le Quellec mentions it for Libya (Tripoli and Fezzan) as "four domestique utilisé pour cuire le pain". As a general form he mentions *furn*. One of the common forms in North Africa, *fuṛn*, is also used in Syria (*fuṛən, firən*) and Iraq (*firin*), but means "public (statal) bakery", "a neighbourhood bakery", the "oven" being called *tannūṛ*.

Other forms for "baking oven" in Libya are *kōša* for Tripolitania, the ʿAwāmma tribe, bedouins in the south-west of Sirt[12], and *kušša* (sic!) in Owens 150 for Eastern Libya as "bakery" as suggests his example *ibgīt nišri fil-xubza mil-kušša* translated by "I've been buying it from the baker". Griffini gives *kūša* "fornace da calce" ("limekiln") and *furn* "forno". As "furnace" for making bricks the form *kōša* is already used in Egypt. In the dialect of the Marāzīg/Tunisia *kōša* is not used for an oven to bake bread in, but as "four provisoire en pierre ... exclusivement pour la viande", for a bread baking oven *ṭābōna* ~ *ṭābūna* "petit four à pain" is used (Boris). In Algeria *kūša* is polysemic meaning "four à pain, à chaux, fournil" (Beaussier, Madouni—La Peyre). In Morocco it normaly refers to a "four à chaux, à plâtre, à charbon de bois", but in Fes and Marrakesh it is also "a baking oven" = *kūša* ~ *fəṛṛān əl-kūša* (De Premare). Besides the older *fəṛn* ~ *fəṛṛān, fūṛ* from French *four* may be used in the Maghreb. As for Ḥassānīya the form *vərne* "fourneau malgache" ("Madagascar stove") given by Taine-Cheikh refers to a metal stove recently introduced to the country[13].

[12] Boris s.v.

[13] Which according to http://www.bvco.org.uk/BVCO_Stoves.htm. looks like a *tannūṛ,* but obviously is a stove for cooking.

Yemeni forms like *māfī, mawfā, mūfā, mīfa*[14], *mabkal, madannā, madḥagah,* the latter “eine Art Ofen” (“a kind of oven” in Behnstedt 1992 s.v.), are not defined; *madrē* might have been misunderstand, since also *madfē* is to be found in the same dialect (Jabal Rāziḥ); this *madfē* in another dialect = *madfā* (Minabbih) is defined in Gingrich 74 as “Ofen für Getränke” (“oven for drinks”) whatever this may be, in the central highlands = *madvā* is “a fire place consisting of two stones”; *mangal* is a portable clay oven of drum shape, in Landberg (1920-1942) 2816 “poële portatif”, so is *mawqad*; as *mawgid* it can also be “a furnace for destilling resin”; *manwar* is an “oven made of stone”, *ṣuʿd* In Behnstedt (1996) is simply translated by “Backofen”, *muṣʿidih* and *masʿaṭeh* as “kleiner *ṣuʿd*”, “very small clay oven”, *ṣuʿd* is defined as “Dreifuss (zum Kochen)” = “tripod for cooking”, too.

5. To Light a Fire

The different forms for “to light a fire” at first glance seem to be unequivocal. Forms derived from *šʿl, wlʿ, wqd* need not many comments[15]. The latter, however, in some regions, has undergone a paradigmatical change, e.g. in Egypt *gād, ygīd* or in Tunisia (Marāzīg) *gidē, yigdi* or Ḥassānīya *gda, yigdi*. Some forms of the Arabian peninsula, however, are semantically tricky. One typical form is *šabb, yšubb an-nāṛ* mainly to be found in bedouin dialects. The sources consulted give “to light, kindle a fire” (Holes 262b *šabb* (i) 1. “kindle (fire)”, 2. “turn on light”, 3. “catch fire”, Ingham 1982: 143 *šubb annār*, 146 = “to light the fire”, Ingham 1986: 284: *yšubbūn ḍawwhum*: translated 288 “they were kindling a fire”; Behnstedt 2000: 515/516 *nḥafir ḥafar w nšubb buh nāṛ* for the Šammar dialect; Kurpershoek 154 *šabbihaw nīrānhum*. Cf. also Wehr *šabba, yašubbu* “to light, kindle (fire)” and for Sudan Qāsim 384b *šabb = ittaqadat*.

Landberg 1901: 136 calls in question this translation: “*šabb* ... n’est pas, comme disent nos dictionnaires européens, allumer, mais raviver le feu, en y éventant dessus, soit avec un éventoir, la main, ou, comme le font les bédouins, avec le pan de la chemise...”.

The question is whether all those specialists have been mistaken as for the meaning of *šabb* as Landberg’s statement may allege. He

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[14] To be found mainly in the south (e.g. Aden).

[15] A “last minute information” comes form the WAD questionnaire for Zabīd (Samia Naïm): *sarrag, nawwar, wle’*.

is certainly right in asserting that *šabb* originally meant "to fan" and not "to light a fire", a distinction which is still true for Ḥaḍramawi for which he quotes *iršin an-nār w šubbha!* "allume le feu et évente-le (ou souffle dessus)!". This original meaning of *šabb* is confirmed by Omani *mšebb* "woven palm-leaf hand-fans" (Brockett). Most probably "all those specialists" have not been mistaken, *šabb* simply has undergone a semantical change due to contiguity.

Another semantically tricky word for "to kindle a fire" is only typical for dialects on the peninsula (bedouin and sedentary), namely forms derived from *ʿlq* like *ʿilag* "to, light, ignite, set on fire", *hāk iš-šixxāṭa w iʿlig il-ḥaṭab!* "take the matches and light the firewood!" (Woodhead-Beene); *ʿallaq* "allumer (le feu)" (Barthélemy, Denizeau), *aʿlag* "to ignite, kindle" (Sowayan, Glossary), p. 104/107 *yiʿliǵ* = "ignite the powder in the gun barrel", *aʿlag, yiʿliǵ* "to light a fire" (Palva 129), Soukhne: *iʿlik, yiʿlak* "'sich entzünden (Feuer)', *ʿallak, yʿallik* "anzünden" (Behnstedt 1994 II glossary). The problem is cultural and semantic. What has "to light a fire" to do with the basic meanings of *ʿlq* "to hang up, suspend, cling, stick etc.". Of course a kettle or a cauldron may be hung up over a fire, and *ʿallig!* might have undergone a semantic change from "hang up the kettle!" to "light the fire!", cf. *yiʿallag iš-šāy* "to make tea" in Barīs/Kharga oasis in Egypt. But is this the normal way of cooking tea or food? A tea-kettle normally is not hung up over a fire and cooking may be performed on a *kānūn*, a clay or mud-brick hearth. Also in coffee-drinking societies like some bedouin ones on the peninsula no kettle is hung over a fire for preparing it. Furthermore "lighting a fire" does not necessarily imply "cooking".

Another strange form is *aʿrab, yiʿrib* from Sinai. When looking up the different meanings of *ʿrb* in Lane one finds indeed some related ones (not to be found in Wehr), i.e. *ʿariba* "said of a camel's hump ... it became swollen and purulent" which one could also translate by "became inflamed", or *taʿrīb* "cauterizing". The other Sinai form *šaṭṭ, yšuṭṭ* most probably is related to Lane *šāṭa, yašīṭu* "it burned" or "became burned", also common in many dialects, e.g. Egypt *šāṭ, yišīṭ* "to be burned, to be singed". *kazz* quoted by Landberg 1901: 126 has a special meaning, namely "allumer le feu dans le four à pain *tinnār*, approcher le feu à la poudre, au canon". It is used in other Yemeni dialects as "to burn, to blind", cf. also yemeni *kizz(ah)* "spark". As for *karrab* "to light a fire" see above under "kitchen".

6. Water-tap

A water-tap within a kitchen certainly is something new since running water in houses partly is an achievement of modern times. Therefore it is not astonishing to find French *robinet* as *rabīna* in southern Ḥassānīya, Spanish *grifo* as *grīfu* in the northern Ḥassānīya dialect, English *valve* written as *welf* by Brockett in Oman, in Baḥrayn *wilf* "valve, tap, stopcock" (Holes 2001: 567a). Elsewhere words originally referring to public fountains (e.g. in a mosque) are used. The most common being *ḥanafiyya* in Egypt, Sudan, the Levant, Iraq, partly Yemen. *sabbāla* is used mainly in Tunisia (cf. *sabīl* "public fountain") and Algeria (e.g. in Oran) and still has the meaning of "public fountain" in Moroccon Arabic (cf. Brunot 361, according to him introduced by the French from Algerian Arabic). *çešmāye* in the Çukurova, *šīšma* in Libya (Le Quellec) and Tunisia (Singer 125) are derived from Turkish *çeşme* "traditional public fountain". In Tunisia *šīšma* is used according to Singer only by the rural population and in Sousse, Sfax and Mahdiyya. Tunis itself, also the Marāzīg-dialect, have *sabbāla (sabbēla)*. The form *mzambila* given paralelly to *ḥanafiyya* by Woodhead-Beene might be related to *sabbāla* and perhaps be influenced by *zamzam. ʿayn* used in Algiers, *səʾʾāya, səqqāya* in Tlemcen and Maghniyya, too, originally mean "well, fountain". Another possibilitiy of naming this new object is using an existing term used for sth. with a similar function, namely "nozzle, spout", e.g. in Meccan Arabic *bazbūz; bəzbūz* in Moroccan Arabic; *bizbiz, bizbizī* in some Yemeni dialects. To these are to be added *māsūra* in Sudanese and Chadian Arabic, *mosúra* in Ki-Nubi, *būri* in Kirkuk/Iraq and *ʿəmbūb* in Moroccon Arabic all meaning "pipe", *ṭurumba* "pump" (Baghdad questionnaire). Further enquiries certainly will furnish more designations, also for the other items dealt with above.

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THE ARABIC DIALECT OF A ŠAWĀWĪ COMMUNITY OF NORTHERN OMAN

Domenyk Eades

1. Introduction

The Šawāwī mountain nomads of northern Oman live in the mountains and inner pediment region of Jabal Ḥajar, the vast mountain chain which extends from Musandam in the north of Oman in a broad arc through the interior of the country to Ra's al-Ḥadd in the south-east (Cordes & Scholz 1980:3-6).[1] They reside mainly in the foothills, grazing their herds during the day on the sparse vegetation of the mountain plateaux and the wadis. They breed large numbers of donkeys, goats, sheep, and in some cases camels, and trade with the populations of nearby towns and villages in animals and animal products (Zaibet et al. 2004:133). In recent years most Šawāwī have permanently settled either within their traditional lands or in the long-established towns and villages of the mountain region. Nevertheless, rural Šawāwī communities generally retain much of their traditional social structure and pastoral way of life to this day.

The traditional lifestyle of the Šawāwī is distinguished in a number of ways from that of the Badu. Prior to the recent settlement of most Šawāwī communities, they would camp for periods of up to a year within a single location, moving over relatively short distances within the mountain region. In contrast, the Badu would migrate over vast distances, and would typically camp in a single location for no more than a few months at a time. The Šawāwī are also distinguished from the Badu by their unique relationship with the sedentary populations of the towns and villages, as observed by Wilkinson (1977:63):

[1] I am grateful to the Šawāwī speakers who graciously participated in this study, in particular Suhail bin ʿAbs al-Rawāḥī. Many thanks are also due to Mubārak bin Ḥamūd al-Hidyīwī and Xalīfa bin Saʿīd al-Hidyīwī for introducing me to them, and to Khalṣa al-Aghbārī for her assistance in the transcription of the text.

> "[F]irst, they are more or less incorporated into the tribal structures of the settled people, second, they have peculiar rights in the villages with which they associate, and third, they act as the main long distance transporters of the goods between the settled communities".

Another way in which the Šawāwī are distinguished from the Badu is by their speech. The principle classificatory division of the vernaculars spoken throughout much of the Arab world is that of the socially-based Bedouin (B) versus sedentary (S) dichotomy (Holes 1995:95-102; Ingham 1982:31-2). In Oman, dialects of the former type are spoken by the nomadic and recently settled populations of the desert regions, and those of the latter type by the settled ḥaḍarī populations of the towns and villages concentrated in and around the mountain regions. On the basis of the various structural contrasts marking this division described in studies by Clive Holes (1989, 1996), the Šawāwī dialect conforms in every respect to that of the Omani S type. A striking feature of the Omani dialect area noted by Holes is the fact that relatively fewer structural contrasts mark the distinction between the S and B dialects than distinguish the S and B dialects in the northern Arab world. He suggests that a major reason for this is most likely the fact that there are fewer social and economic contrasts distinguishing S communities from B ones than in the northern Arab world (Holes 1989:50). The situation with regard to the Šawāwī is strikingly illustrative of this.

No study of the speech of the Šawāwī has been undertaken to date, and the present study is a contribution towards filling this gap. Here we describe the speech of a Šawāwī community who live in the hinterland of Izki, in the mountains of the Dāxilīya region. The corpus for this study consists of a transcribed interview totalling approximately 1,800 words, as well as written notes recorded during numerous discussions with Šawāwī speakers. The principle informant is Suhail bin ʿAbs al-Rawāḥī, who also supplied the text. Suhail is sixty-five years old and maintains a nomadic lifestyle to this day. At the time of this study he was camped in a temporary dwelling approximately fifteen kilometres to the south-east of the town of Izki, and maintained a large herd consisting of mostly goats as well as some sheep. Other examples of the dialect contained in the corpus are drawn from data collected from speakers living in the nearby village

of Saimā’. This article is based primarily on impressionistic evaluation of the dialect, with a focus on the verbal morphology.

2. The Šawāwī Dialect in Relation to the Omani Dialects

The Šawāwī dialect exhibits all features characteristic of the Omani S type. The voiceless uvular plosive *q* (<OA[2] *q), characteristic of S dialects throughout Oman and elsewhere in peninsular Arabia is retained, thus bringing the dialect into contrast with those of the B type, in which this reflex is represented by the voiced velar plosive *g*. The Omani S type is further divided into two geographically-defined subdivisions: S1 and S2. These are distinguished on the basis of the following phonological criteria (Holes 1989:455):

TYPE S1 [3]
q < OA *q
k < OA *k
g or *ɟ* [4] or *ğ* [5] < OA *ğ
CvC(v)Cv(C) forms only
qahwa only
š only for 2nd sg. fem. pronominal enclitic

TYPE S2 [6]
k < OA *q
č [7] < OA *k
ğ < OA *ğ
CvC(v)Cv(C) forms only
qahwa only
š only for 2nd sg. fem. pronominal enclitic

The Šawāwī speech of the corpus conforms with the S1 type, and is in contrast with the S2 dialects by the fact that OA *q and *k have not been fronted or affricated to *k* and *č* respectively.

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[2] Old Arabic: the putative ancestor of the modern dialects in terms of phonology (Holes 1995:xiii)

[3] Dialects of this type are the more widespread of the two types, and are spoken in Karshā-Nizwā, Bahlā, Qalhāt, Ibrā, Rustāq, Muḍaibi, Zāhib (Sharqīya) dialects (Holes 1996:43)

[4] *ɟ* (IPA [ɟ])is a palatal plosive

[5] *ğ* (IPA [dʒ]) is a voiced alveo-palatal affricate.

[6] Dialects of this type are spoken in Wādi Saḥtān and the Wādi Bani ʿAuf villages (Holes 1996:43)

[7] *č* (IPA [tʃ]) is a voiceless alveo-palatal affricate.

3. Phonology

3.1. *Segmental Phonology*

	Plosive	Fricative	Approximant	Nasal	Liquid
Labial	*b*			*m*	
Labiodental		*f*			
Dental		*ṯ* *ḏ*			
Alveolar	*t* *d*	*s*		*n*	*l*, *r*
Emphatic	*ṭ*	*ḏ̣* *ṣ*			
Alveo-palatal		*š*			
Palatal	*ɟ*		y		
Velar	*k*	*x* *ġ*			
Uvular	*q*				
Pharyngeal		*ḥ*	ʿ (ʕ)		
Glottal	ʾ(ʔ)				
Labiovelar			*w*		

1. The dialect preserves almost all of the OA consonant system, reflecting the phonological conservatism which is characteristic of the Omani dialect area. The alveolar spirants {*ḏ, ḏ̣, ṯ*} have been retained, but OA *ḍ and *ḏ̣ have merged into a single phoneme *ḏ̣*.

2. There are three short vowel phonemes: *i, a, u*, and five long vowels: *ī, ā, ē, ū, ō*. The OA short diphthong *aw occurs in all environments as *ō*: *bōš* 'camel', *xōf* 'fear', *yōb* 'approximately'; *šarbō* 'they drank'; *yōkil* 'he eats'. The OA short diphthong *ay is monophthongised in all phonological environments to *ē*: *bēt* 'house, dwelling', *mašḗt* 'I walked', *ṣēf* 'summer', *ġēr* 'other than'.

3. The reflex of OA *ǧ is represented by the palatal plosive *ɟ*: *wāɟid* 'very, much', *ɟabal* 'mountain', *ɟānib* 'side'; this is in free variation in all environments with the voiced alveo-palatal affricate [ǧ]: *ǧalas* (~ *ɟalas*) 'he sat', *ǧāi* (~ *ɟāi*) 'coming'. The affricated variant occurred most consistently in the position immediately following a nasal: *finǧān* 'cup' (/*finɟān*/), *nǧī* (/*nɟī*/) 'we come', *nǧīb* (/*nɟīb*/) 'we bring'.

The only other S1 dialects in Oman in which OA *ǧ is represented by the modern reflexes ɟ or ǧ are those spoken approximately two hundred kilometres away in rural communities located around Rustāq and Wādi Saḥtān, and in some communities of the Bāṭinah coast who trace their ancestry to the populations of the mountains (Clive Holes, personal communication).[8] In dialects of the settled communities around Izki as well as in most other towns and villages throughout Oman, including the area in and around the capital Muscat, the reflex of OA *ǧ is represented by the velar plosive *g*. As such, the phonetic realisation of this reflex is a salient contrast between the Šawāwī dialect and those of the nearby sedentary communities. A certain amount of higher prestige is associated with the *g* pronunciation, which is evident by the fact that this pronunciation tends to be adopted by the settled Šawāwī of the larger towns.

3.2. *Non-segmental Phonology*

3.2.1. *Syllable Structure*

1. The pattern I strong verb exhibits the syllable structure Cv́CvC: ***šarab*** 'he drank', ***daras*** 'he studied', ***qatil*** 'he killed'. The addition of a suffix to these stems triggers the deletion of v_2, forming stems with the structure Cv́CCv(C): ***šarbat*** 'she drank', ***darsat*** 'she studied' (***daras*** 'he studied'), ***qatlō*** 'they killed' (***qatal*** 'he killed'). This structure also applies to nouns: ***baṣlah*** 'onion' (***baṣal*** 'onions'), ***samkah*** 'a fish' (***samak*** 'fish (pl.)'), ***raqbah*** 'neck') (< OA **raqabah*).

2. Some nouns have resyllabified free variant forms: ***laḥm*** ~ ***laḥam*** 'meat', ***taḥt*** ~ ***taḥat*** 'under, below', following the widespread tendency across peninsular Arabia for the resyllabification of the sequence $C_1aC_2C_3 \rightarrow C_1aC_2aC_3$ (where C_2 is ḥ, x, ġ, h, or ʿ). This occurs in the Šawāwī dialect only where the cluster is word final (…aCC#); the forms ***qahwa*** 'coffee' and ***raqba*** 'neck' do not have variant forms.

3. A restricted class of word medial three-consonant clusters arises through the addition of a suffix to stems with a final consonant cluster, e.g. *ʿ**ind*** + ***-him*** gives /ʿindhim/ 'with them': /zarbhim/ 'their (animal) enclosure', /bintha/ 'her daughter'.

[8] Whether the Šawāwī who live in the Izki region are an offshoot of these distant communities remains open to further research.

3.2.2. *Final Clusters and Anaptyctics*
1. An anaptyctic vowel /u/ is inserted into a word-final consonant cluster where final C is represented by *r*, with word stress falling on the resulting final syllable: *ṣabúr* 'patience' (< OA *ṣabr*), *ʿaṣúr* (< OA *ʿaṣr*). In other stems, final clusters are preserved: *ṣubḥ* 'morning', *farq* 'difference', *ṯalǧ* 'ice', *zarb* 'animal enclosure', *qalb* 'heart', *xubz* 'bread'.

2. The anaptyctic vowel is deleted when a suffixed element is added: *ṣabr-i* 'my patience'. A non-anaptyctic vowel in a final syllable is deleted in stems upon the addition of a suffixed element: *qalm-i* 'my pen', *qalm-ak* 'your pen' (*qalam* 'my pen'), *wald-uh* 'his son' (*walad* 'boy, son'), *ḥabl-i* 'my rope' (*ḥabal* 'rope, cord'), *naxl-i* 'my palm trees' (*naxal* 'palm tree').

3. Initial consonant clusters are formed by the deletion of an unstressed v_1 in nouns with the underlying structure $C_1vC_2vv(C_3v)$, where C_1 and C_2 are contrasted in terms of manner or place or articulation. The resulting stem has the structure $C_1C_2vv(C_3v)$: *ḥmār* 'donkey', *bṭūn* 'stomachs', *ṣġīr* 'small', *ryūq*, 'breakfast' *rɟūl*, 'legs', *ɟwāni* 'sacks'.

4. Morphology in Relation to Omani B and S Types

Holes (1989:454) notes four separate morphological parameters by which Omani B dialects are contrasted with those of the S type, remarking that dialects spoken in areas with histories of sustained contact between speakers of B and S dialects exhibit combinations from both types. In the Šawāwī dialect, all four of these parameters correspond to those described for the Omani S type. This is demonstrated in the following; contrasting B type equivalents are given in brackets:
1. Final *-u* and *-i* mark 3 pl. masc. and 2 sg. fem. imperfect verbs respectively (B: *-ūn* and *-īn*): *yisawwyu* 'they make' (B: *yisawwūn*), *tizarʿi* 'you (sg. fem.) plant' (B: *tizarʿīn*).

2. Final *-uh* is the 3 sg. masc. object/possessor enclitic: *nširb-uh* 'we drink it' (B: *nširb-ah*), *bēt-uh* 'his house' (B: *bēt-ah*).

3. Weak verbs with an initial hamza exhibit initial /yō/ in the active imperfect (in contrast with the B type /yā/): *yōkil* 'he eats' (B: *yākil*), *yōxaḏ* 'he takes' (B: *yāxaḏ*)

4. Prefixes for verbs Form V and VI show /yit/- and not the B-type /yti/-: *yitʿallam* 'he learns' (B: *ytiʿallam*), *yitkallam* 'he speaks' (B: *ytikallam*), *yitnaqqal* 'he moves around' (B: *ytinaqqal*). Attachment of first person plural prefix *ni*- triggers resyllabification, forming a structure identical to those of the B type: *ntiʿallam* 'we learn' (other S dialects: *nitʿallam*). This resyllabification applies only to verbs bearing the nasal prefix; all other forms exhibit the initial CvC structure, e.g. *yitʿallam* 'he learns'.

4.1. *Verbal Morphology*

This section surveys the verbal inflectional paradigms of the Šawāwī dialect, and is organised according to the tense and conjugation class of the verb. The dialect exhibits the morphological conservatism typical of the Omani dialects in general. Most of the inflectional categories of OA have been preserved, including agreement for the categories of plural feminine and second person feminine.

4.1.1. *The Strong Verb: Perfect*

There are two conjugations in the perfect: CáCaC and CáCiC. These are shown in the following table:

sg.	3.	masc.	*šárab* 'he drank'	*qátil* 'he killed'
		fem.	*šárbat*	*qátlit*
	2.	masc.	*šarábt*	*qatílt*
		fem.	*šarábti*	*qatílti*
	1.	c.	*šarábt*	*qatílt*
pl.	3.	masc.	*šárbō*	*qátlō*
		fem.	*šárban*	*qátlan*
	2.	masc.	*šarábtu*	*qatíltu*
		fem.	*šarábtin*	*qatíltin*
	1.	c.	*šarábna*	*qatílna*

Other examples include: *ḏ̣árab/ḏ̣árbat* 'to hit', *dáxal/dáxlat* 'to enter', 'to kill, *ɉálas/ɉálsat* 'to sit', *rákaḏ/rákḏat* 'to run'; *kátib/kátbit* 'to write', *másik/máskit* 'to hold'

4.1.2. *The Strong Verb: Imperfect*

There are two conjugations for the imperfect strong verb: -CCaC and -CCiC. The vowel in a stressed prefixed element of an imperfect verb beginning with a post-velar consonant is /a/ {*ya*-, *ta-, na*-}, and in all other environments (except in sg. 1 c.) is /i/ {*yi*- *ti-, ni*-}:

sg.	3.	masc.	*yíšrab* 'he drinks'	*yáqtil* 'he kills'
		fem.	*tíšrab*	*táqtil*
	2.	masc.	*tíšrab*	*táqtil*
		fem.	*tišrábi*	*taqítli*
	1.	c.	*ášrab*	*áqtil*
pl.	3.	masc.	*yišárbu*	*yaqítlu*
		fem.	*yišárban*	*yaqítlan*
	2.	masc.	*tšárbu*	*taqítlu*
		fem.	*tšárban*	*taqítlan*
	1.	c.	*níšrab*	*náqtil*

Other examples include: *yírɟaʿ* 'he returns', *yíktib* 'to write', *yímsik* 'he holds', *tírkiḏ* 'she runs'; *táʿrif* 'she knows', *yáqtil* 'he kills', *yíḏbaḥ* 'he slaughters', *yáʿtaš* 'he gets thirsty'.

4.1.3. *The Strong Verb: Imperative*

sg.	2.	masc.	*šəráb* 'drink!'	*məsík* 'hold!'
		fem.	*šárbi*	*míski*
pl.	2.	masc.	*šárbu*	*mísku*
		fem.	*šárban*	*mískan*

4.1.4. *The Strong Verb: Geminate Verbs*

There are two conjugations of strong geminate stems. The first of these has the structure CiCC/-CiCC, and is illustrated in the following table:

			Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative
sg.	3.	masc.	*mídd* 'he spread'	*yimídd* 'he spreads'	
		fem.	*míddat*	*timídd*	
	2.	masc.	*middḗt*	*timídd*	*mídd* 'spread!'
		fem.	*middḗti*	*timíddi*	*míddi*
	1.	c.	*middḗt*	*amídd*	
pl.	3.	masc.	*míddō*	*yimíddu*	
		fem.	*míddan*	*yimíddin*	

2.	masc.	*middḗtu*	*timíddu*	*míddu*
	fem.	*middḗtin*	*timíddin*	*míddin*
1.	c.	*middḗna*	*nimídd*	

Other verbs of this conjugation include: *sídd/yisídd* ‘to stop up’ and *tímm/yitímm* ‘to complete’. The second conjugation class of strong geminate verbs exhibits the pattern CaCC/-CuCC, e.g. *qáṣṣ/yiqúṣṣ* ‘to cut’.

4.1.5. *Weak Verbs: Initial Hamza*

			Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative
sg.	3.	masc.	*kál* ‘he ate’	*yṓkil* ‘he eats’	
		Fem.	*kálat*	*tṓkil*	
	2.	masc.	*kalḗt*	*tṓkil*	*kil* ‘eat!’
		Fem.	*kalḗti*	*tṓkli*	*kíli*
	1.	c.	*kalḗt*	*ákil*[9]	
pl.	3.	masc.	*kálō*	*yṓklu*	
		Fem.	*kálan*	*yṓklin*	
	2.	masc.	*kalḗtu*	*tṓklu*	*kílu*
		Fem.	*kalḗtin*	*tṓklin*	*kílin*
	1.	c.	*kalḗna*	*nṓkil*	

Other examples of this class include *xáḏ/yṓxaḏ/yṓxḏu* ‘to take’; the active participles of these forms are *mākil* and *māxiḏ*.

4.1.6. *Weak Verbs: Initial w*

The imperfect inflection of weak stems with an initial *w* has merged with that of hamza-initial stems. These are contrasted only in the perfect conjugation.

			Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative
sg.	3.	masc.	*wáqaf* ‘he stopped’	*yṓqif* ‘he stops’	
		fem.	*wáqfat*	*tṓqif*	
	2.	masc.	*waqáft*	*tṓqif*	*qíf* ‘stop!’
		fem.	*waqáfti*	*tṓqfi*	*qífi*

[9] This has the same form as that of the weak initial *w* conjugation, e.g. *áqif* ‘I stop’.

	1.	c.	*waqáft*	*áqif*	
pl.	3.	masc.	*wáqfō*	*yṓqfu*	
		fem.	*wáqfan*	*yṓqfin*	
	2.	masc.	*waqáftu*	*tṓqfu*	*qífu*
		fem.	*waqáftin*	*tṓqfin*	*qífin*
	1.	c.	*waqáfna*	*nṓqif*	

Other examples: *wáṣal/yṓṣil* 'to arrive', *wázan/yṓzin* 'to weigh'

4.1.7. *Weak Verbs: Initial y*

			Perfect	Imperfect
sg.	3.	masc.	*yíbis*	*yī́bas*
pl.	3.	masc.	*yíbsō*	*yī́bsu*

4.1.8. *Weak Verbs: Hollow Verbs*

There is one conjugation in the perfect and three conjugations in the imperfect for hollow verbs. These are summarised in the following with *yiqū́l* 'he says', *yibī́ʿ* 'he buys', and *yinā́m* 'he sleeps':

			Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative		
sg.	3.	masc.	*qā́l*	a. *yiqū́l* b. *yibī́ʿ* c. *yinā́m*			
		fem.	*qā́lat*	*tiqū́l*			
	2.	masc.	*qilt*	*tiqū́l*	a. *qūl*	b. *bīʿ*	c. *nām*
		fem.	*qílti*	*tiqûlin*	*qū́li*	*bī́ʿi*	*nā́mi*
	1.	c.	*qílt*	*aqū́l*			
pl.	3.	masc.	*qā́lō*	*tiqū́lu*			
		fem.	*qā́lan*	*tiqū́lin*			
	2.	masc.	*qíltu*	*tiqū́lu*	*qū́lu*	*bī́ʿu*	*nā́mu*
		fem.	*qíltin*	*tiqū́lin*	*qū́lin*	*bī́ʿin*	*nā́min*
	1.	c.	*qílna*	*nqūl*[10]			

Other such verbs include *sāq/sāqat/yisūq* 'to drive [animals]', *rāḥ/rāḥat/yirūḥ* 'to go', *bāʿ/bāʿat/yibīʿ* 'to sell'.

[10] The ellipsis of the vowel in the 1 pl. prefix *ni-* and the assimilation of the nasal to the position of the adjacent consonant follows the general rule whereby an initial unstressed vowel is deleted (see section 2).

4.1.9. *Weak Verbs: Verbs Final y*

			Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative
sg.	3.	masc.	*máša* 'he walked'	*yímši* 'he walks'	
		fem.	*mášit*	*tímši*	
	2.	masc.	*mašḗt*	*tímši*	*ímši* 'walk! go!'
		fem.	*mašḗti*	*tímši*	*miší*
	1.	c.	*mašḗt*	*ámši*	
pl.	3.	masc.	*míšyō*	*yimíšyu*	
		fem.	*míšyan*	*yimíšyin*	
	2.	masc.	*mašḗtu*	*timíšyu*	*míšyu*
		fem.	*mašḗtin*	*timíšyin*	*míšyin*
	1.	c.	*mašḗna*	*nímši*	

Another example of weak verbs of the pattern Ca(C)Ca/-Ci(C)Ci is *sáqa/sáqat* 'to water'. Some weak final *y* stems exhibit a separate conjugation in the imperfect: -C(C)a, an example of which is *báġa/yíbġa* 'to want, will'.

4.1.10. *Weak Verbs: Doubly Weak Stems*

			Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative
sg.	3.	masc.	*ɟa* 'he came'	*yiɟí* 'he comes'	
		fem.	*ɟat*	*tiɟí*	
	2.	masc.	*ɟīt*	*tiɟí*	*taʿā́l* 'come!'
		fem.	*ɟī́ti*	*tiɟí*	*taʿā́li*
	1.	c.	*ɟīt*	*aɟí*	
pl.	3.	masc.	*ɟáō*	*yiɟyú*	
		fem.	*ɟan*	*yiɟín*	
	2.	masc.	*ɟī́tu*	*tiɟú*	*taʿā́lu*
		fem.	*ɟī́tin*	*tiɟín*	*taʿā́lin*
	1.	c.	*ɟī́na*	*nɟí*	

The active participle for this verb is: *ɟāi/ɟāyəh* 'come'.

4.1.11. *Derived Patterns*
Various derived verbs occurred in the corpus:

Pattern II
kassar/kassarat; yikassar 'to smash'

Pattern III
lāqa/lāqat; yilāqi 'to meet'

Pattern V
tkallam/tkallamat; yitkallam 'to talk'

Pattern VII
infataḥ/infataḥat; yinfataḥ 'to open (intransitive)'

Pattern VIII
iltamm/iltammat; yiltamm 'to gather'

Pattern IX
iḥmarr/iḥmarrat; yiḥmarr 'to redden; become red'

Pattern X
starāḥ/starāḥat; yistarīḥ 'to rest'

4.1.12. *The Apophonic Passive*

The apophonic passive (AP) is one of several conservative grammatical features retained to varying degrees of productivity in all Omani dialects described to date. In a survey of the AP in S dialects of different locations in Oman, Holes (1998) showed that productive AP morphology was restricted to imperfect weak or strong geminate stems with third person agreement, reflecting restrictions also reported for dialects of northern Arabia (Ingham 1985:26-28). Example (1) shows the AP in a geminate stem, and in example (2) a weak stem:

(1) *ṣūf hāḏa mi l-ɟaʿd,* ***yiqaṣṣ*** 'This wool is from sheep, it is cut'. (*yiquṣṣ* 'he cuts')

(2) *firāš hāḏə* ***yiqāl luh*** *sēḥa* 'This cloth is called *sēḥa*'. (*yiqūl luh* 'he calls it')

Other examples from the corpus include: *yibāʿ* 'it is sold', *yākil* 'it is eaten' and *yisawwā* 'it is made'. One token occurred in the corpus of an unelicited AP verb which was not in the third person. This is shown in example (3):

(3) ***niḏ̣rab*** *bi ʿaṣā*. 'We [would] get hit with a cane'. (***niḏ̣rib*** 'we hit')

In spite of the productivity of the AP in the Šawāwī dialect in the imperfect, no AP verbs occurred in the corpus in the perfect. Speakers employed functionally equivalent non-passive strategies when describing completed or past actions involving an implicit agent. One such strategy involves the use of the passive participle:

(4) *l-hōš* ***maḏbūḥ*** *ams*. 'The goat was slaughtered yesterday'.

The loss of the perfect AP conjugation in the Šawāwī dialect suggests that the AP is in recession in the dialect, as in the interior S dialects described by Holes (1998). In contrast, fully productive AP morphology with perfect and imperfect inflections were reported for an S dialect of Rustāq (Reinhardt 1894:154-7), and more recently in a B dialect of the Šarqīyah region in the Omani interior (Eades forthcoming) and various B and S dialects of the Bāṭinah coast (Brockett 1995). The following table shows the full inflectional paradigm for the strong verb *qatil* 'to kill' in the Šawāwī dialect:

			Imperfect	Perfect
sg.	3.	masc.	*yíqtal* 'he is killed'	--
		fem.	*tíqtal*	
	2.	masc.	*tíqtal*	
		fem.	*tiqátli*	
	1.	c.	*áqtal*	
pl.	3.	masc.	*yiqátlu*	
		fem.	*yiqátlin*	
	2.	masc.	*tiqátlu*	
		fem.	*tiqátlin*	
	1.	c.	*níqtal*	

4.1.13. *Suffixation of active participles and imperfect verbs*

The suffix *-inn* is one of several features common throughout the Omani dialect area (Holes 1989:448). It occurs between an active participle and a pronominal object enclitic, and always attracts word stress; the vowel in an attached 3 sg. masc. pronominal enclitic *-uh* is lowered to *-ah*. Examples include ***nāsínn-ah*** '[x] forgot it' and ***šāyifánn-ah*** '[x] saw it', and ***mātínn-hin*** '[x] brought them':

(5) *nǧi* ***mātínn****-hin.* 'We [would] come bringing them'. (*mātī* 'bring')

This suffix also attaches to imperfect verbs with a following pronominal object:

(6) *rǧūl* ***yʿawwaránn-ak*** '[Your] feet hurt you' (*ʿawwar* 'to blind; cause pain')

5. Personal Pronouns

The following table shows the personal pronouns:

			Independent	Bound (possessive/object)
sg.	3.	masc.	*húwwa*	*-uh*
		fem.	*híyyə*	*-ha*
	2.	masc.	*nta*	*-ak*
		fem.	*nti*	*-iš*
	1.	c.	*ánə*	*-i /-ni*
pl.	3.	masc.	*hə́mma*	*-him*
		fem.	*hə́nna*	*-hin*
	2.	masc.	*ntu*	*-kim*
		fem.	*ntən*	*-kin*
	1.	c.	*ḥnuh, ḥnu*	*-na*

The second person singular pronoun enclitics are: *-ak* (2 sg. masc.) and *-iš* (2 sg. fem.). The form *-iš* is common throughout southern Arabia, distinguishing these dialects from those of northern Arabia, in which the equivalent is *-ik* (Holes 1989:448).

5.1. *Attachment of Pronominal Enclitics*

The following examples show nouns and verbs with attached pronominal enclitics:

+3 sg. masc.: *kitb-uh* 'he wrote it', *kalēna-h* 'we ate it', *sidd-uh* 'he stopped it up', *šarb-uh* 'he drank it', *ašū́f-uh* 'I see him', *nšírb-uh* 'we drink it', *yikitb-uh* 'he writes it', *yišírb-uh* 'he drinks it' *amísk-uh* 'I hold it', *kallamátt-ah* 'she spoke to him', *katbatt-əh* 'she wrote it'. *yilíbsin-əh* 'they (f.pl.) wear it'; *bēt-uh* 'his house', *baqárt-uh* 'his cow', *qalm-uh* 'his pen', *smə-h* 'his name'
+3 sg. fem.: *katáb-ha* 'he wrote it', *masák-ha* 'he held her', *baqrát-ha* 'her cow', *qalám-ha* 'her pen', *maʿnát-ha* 'its meaning'
+3 pl. masc.: *misákt-him* 'I held them', *baqrát-him* 'their cow'
+3 pl. fem.: *kallámt-hin* 'I told them', *šift-hin* 'You saw them', *ɟibna-hin* 'we got them',
+2 sg. masc.: *xabbarátt-ak* 'she told you', *makān-ak* 'your place', *qalm-ak* 'your pen', *ʿind-ak* 'you have'
+2 sg. fem.: *xabbárt-iš* 'I told you'; *zōɟ-iš* 'your husband', *qalm-iš* 'your pen, *baqárt-iš* 'your cow'
+1 sg.: *šāf-ni* 'he saw me', *waṣlát-ni* 'it reached me'; *zōɟ-i* 'my husband', *qalm-i* 'my pen'

+1 pl. c.: *šā́f-na* 'he saw us', *misák-na* 'he held us'; *bēt-na* 'our house', *qalám-na* 'our pen'

The following examples show the attachment of the bound pronominals to the preposition *li* 'to, for':

sg.	+3 masc.:	*luh* 'to him'	pl.	+3 masc.:	*lhim* 'to them'
	+3 fem.:	*lha, lha*		+3 fem.:	*lhin*
	+2 masc.:	*lak*		+2 masc.:	*lkim*
	+2 fem.:	*liš*		+ 2 fem.:	*lkin*
	+1 c.:	*lī*		+1 c.	*ləna, lna*

6. Syntax

6.1. *Future Intention*

The future prefix *ba-*, which occurs in many Omani B dialects, and some S ones, does not occur in the Šawāwī dialect. Future intention is expressed in the dialect by means of the auxiliary verb *yíbġa* 'he wants to/will…'[11]:

(7) *yíbġa yibannad l-bāb.* 'He wants to/will close the door'.

This verb is frequently used in its active participle form *bā́ġi*:

(8) *ana bā́ġi arūḥ hnāk.* 'I want to/will go there'.

(9) *bāġīn yōklū-h* '[They] want to eat it'.

6.2. *Relativisation*

Relative clauses are formed with the relativising particle *bū*, which is exclusive to S-type dialects throughout northern Oman, and is contrasted with the particle *illi* of the B dialects:

(10) *ḏīk al-ʿīšəh* ***bū nōkil-ha*** 'the food which we ate'

(11) *āḏə l-ǰānib* ***bū təlī āḏə l-ǰānib*** 'the side [of the mountain] *which is next to this [other] side*'.

Non-verbal relative clauses are also introduced by *bū*:

[11] This verb is cognate with the future prefix *ba-*, which occurs in dialects spoken elsewhere in Oman.

(12) *wa yišarbu-h kill n-nās* ***bū hnāk*** 'All of the people *who were there* would drink it'.

(13) *mītēn, mīya ṯəlāṯ, āḏə* ***bū ḏāk.*** 'Two hundred [goats], one hundred, three hundred; that's *what was there*'.

A relative clause may be introduced by the interrogative pronoun *mā* 'what, whatever':

(14) ***mā šāyyifann-ah*** *bū yilibsina-h l-badwiyāt.* '*What [you] see* is what the Bedouin women wear'.

6.3. *Relative Adverb 'When'*

The adverbs ***min*** 'when (from that moment)' and ***yōm*** 'when (at that moment)' are used to introduce adverbial clauses of time:

(15) *mōǧūdāt* ***min ǧīna mi l-bēt.*** 'They were there *when we came from the house*'.

(16) ***yōm nimši,*** *mitkasḥīn* '*When we walk*, [we] are in pain'.

6.4. *The Existential Particle: šē*

The Šawāwī dialect exhibits the existential marker *šē* 'exist; thing', which is common to both B and S dialects throughout the Omani dialect area:

(17) ***ḥmīr šē;*** *l-ḥmīr barra* 'There [were] donkeys; they were outside'.

(18) *lō* ***šē*** *ṣahha, al-ḥamdu lillāh ʿala faḏīla hāḏi!* 'If we were healthy [lit. if there was good health], then [we would] thank God for this blessing'.

This particle may occur in combination with the noun *šē* 'thing, something', forming the expression *šē šē* 'there is something':

(19) *awwal ma* ***šē šē*** *sāxin u šē bārid. kill awwal ṭāziǧ.* 'Long ago there was nothing [eaten] hot or cold. Everything [we ate] long ago was fresh'.

The existential *šē* is negated by the negative marker *mā*:

(20) ***mā šē*** *ḥmīr maʿna.* 'We don't have any donkeys'. [lit. 'There are no donkeys with us'.]

(21) ***mā šē*** *xsārə wāɟid.* 'It wasn't a great loss'.

7. Other Lexical Features

7.1. *The Demonstrative Pronouns*

The demonstrative pronouns are as follows:

sg. masc.	*hāḏa*	'this (masc.)'	*hāḏāk*, *ḏāk*	'that (masc.)'
sg. fem.	*hāḏi*	'this (fem.)'	*hāḏīk*, *ḏīk*	'that (fem.)'
pl. c.	*ḏīla*	'these'	*hāḏlāk*, *ḏīlāk*	'those'

7.2 *The interrogatives and adverbs of time and place*

man 'who', *mū* 'what', *mənta* 'when', *hēn* 'where', *kēf* 'how', *kam* 'how much, many', *lēš* 'why', *tō* 'now', *l-yōm* 'today', *bākir* 'tomorrow', *hina, hna* 'here', *hnāk* 'there'

8. Lexical Contrasts

The Šawāwī dialect shares a number of high-frequency lexical items with the dialects of sedentary communities of the Omani interior which have contrasting equivalents in Bedouin speech. Some of these are given in the following table:

Sedentary and Šawāwī speech	Bedouin speech	
yātī buh (or *yigībuh/yiǰībuh*)	*yiyībah* only	'he brings it'
banned (or *sakkar*)	*sakkar*	'to close'
tō	*al-ḥīn*	'now'
mū	*ēš, hēš, šunú*	'what'
ḥāl (or *māl*)	*māl*	'thing owned or possessed'

Other forms which are similar to those in the speech of some interior sedentary communities include the affirmative response *hē* 'yes' (sedentary, Nizwa: *hēwa, hī*), and the syncopated variant forms *āḏa* (~ *hāḏa*) 'this', *mi* (~ *min*) 'from', and *wāḥi* (~*wāḥid*) 'one'. Some distinctly Bedouin lexical items which were used in the place of sedentary equivalents occurred in the Šawāwī corpus: *yirbaᶜ* 'run' (sedentary: *yirkaḏ*), and *hēn* 'where' (sedentary: *wēn*). The Hindi words

čuku[12] 'child, baby' and *namuna* 'type' occurred repeatedly in the corpus, and are indicative of the speaker's frequent contact with Hindi speakers in the markets of the towns and villages.

9. Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this article was to describe certain structural and lexical features of the speech of a Šawāwī community who live in the hinterland of Izki in the interior of northern Oman, and to place the findings within the broader Omani typological context. It was shown that the language of the corpus conforms with the S1 type proposed by Holes (1989, 1996), the type which includes the dialects of sedentary communities throughout northern Oman, with the exception of some communities of the Jabal Akhdar region in which S2 dialects are spoken. The present study thus illustrates Holes' (1996:52) observation that in social terms "the categories "Bedouin" and "sedentary" are not as clearly demarcated in Oman as they are in the Fertile Crescent".

In the northern Arab world, significant structural contrasts occur between B- and S-type dialects which do not occur in the Omani dialect area. This fact is tied to the contrasting socio-historical circumstances in which the dialects of each type have developed. In the north, for example, dialects of the B type are generally noted for their preservation of certain conservative grammatical features[13] which have disappeared from those of the S type. The more tight-knit social structure of many rural Bedouin communities of the north and their isolation from outside influences have resulted in the general conservatism of the B dialects of certain conservative structural features which have disappeared from the dialects of the settled communities as a result of contact-induced change. S-speaking communities have more typically been subjected to sustained periods of outside cultural and economic influence, resulting in a greater degree of morphological levelling and innovative morphology and syntax than in the rural B-speaking communities.

[12] The speaker articulated the original pronunciation of the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate in this form, which is extra-systemic to the Šawāwī phonological inventory.

[13] Examples include the apophonic passive and gender distinctions in the 2nd and 3rd person plural inflections.

In Oman, in contrast, there are significantly fewer structural contrasts associated with the S/B division than in northern Arabia. Omani dialects of both the B and S types retain conservative features which have disappeared from virtually all dialects outside of Oman except for those of the isolated Bedouin communities of the Najd. Holes (1996) noted that the remarkable degree of structural homogeneity of the Omani dialects is due to the fact that the social and economic contrasts with the S/B division are fewer than in the northern Arab world:

> "There is simply less of a social fault-line between village people and nomads in Oman than elsewhere, and this helps to explain why the Bedouin-sedentary distinction is also less clearly demarcated linguistically" (p. 52).

In the preceding sections it was shown that the dialect of the Šawāwī mountain nomads of the Izki region of northern Oman conforms in every respect with the Omani S type. These facts thus illustrate earlier observations that a more blurred relationship between lifestyle and dialect type exists in the Omani dialect area. In the case of the Šawāwī, the label 'S-type' is extended to include the speech of a traditionally nomadic section of the populace. It remains to be seen how the current social and economic changes taking place throughout Oman will affect the dialects of the rural Šawāwī communities in the coming years.

10. Text: The Life of the Šawāwī

The following text is a sample taken from an interview with Suhail bin ʿAbs al-Rawāḥi, and was recorded in June 2007 about fifteen kilometres from the town of Izki, in the Dāxilīya region of northern Oman.

A = interviewer (the author)
B = Šawāwī speaker, male, aged sixty five

1. *A* *zaman awwal, kēf kānat al-maʿīšəh?*
2. *B:* *tō wāɟid farq, tō. awwəl ḥnūh niqayyil ṭūl annəhār, nisraḥ ḥaywān, nzēn. ṭūl n-nəhār, ṭūl n-nəhār, ṭūl n-nəhār, nirǧaʿ marrəh as-siʿah waḥdəh marrəh as-siʿah hintīn marrah nǧī ʿaṣur… ənzēn. ǧīna ʿaṣur durna… allah yarḥam ḏīk al-ʿīšəh bū nōkil-ha. šwayit ṣuḥ wə šwayit ʿēš, kalēnā-h. qālō l-nā "yalla rawwiḥu ʿan al-hōš, yōklan-hin ḏiyāb!" rawwaḥna wara*

	l-hōš, sirna nāti-hin mi hna wə mi hna wə mi hna.
3. *A*	*ḏiyāb šē zaman awwal?*
4. *B*	*hē, zaman awwal hāḏə ḏiyāb. hē, nzēn, ɟibnā-hən l-yōm nsūq b-hin nwaddī-hin āḏə l- ɟānib bākir āḏə l-ɟānib wəra bākər āḏə l- ɟānib bū təlī āḏə l-ɟānib. hē nitbaʿ-hin, kill marrəh kill yōm fi ɟānib. fi l-lēl ʿidne nəlāym-hin fi l-lēl nədaxxal-hin fi zarb al-hōš.*
5. *A*	*šē bōš?*
6. *B*	*hā, ma šē bōš. ma šē. ḥmir šē. l-ḥmir barrə. hnā wə hnā. kān fī-hin wild, nidxil naʿṭi lə-m wālid čuku hāḏə ṣaġēr naʿṭi-hin ḥalīb min mhāt-hin, min hāḏə šwayə. minə šwayə, minə šwayə. lēn nikammil siddēna ʿalē-hin zarb. ma waḥdah ma ṯintēn, yōb arbaʿmīt rās. wāgid wə ḥnūh ntəbaʿhin ṭūl n-nəhār. ṯnīn ṯnīn ṯnīn ṯnīn. wa ṣ-ṣubḥ ənfallat-hin nišrab finğān qahwə. ḥabtēn… ar-ryuq saḥtēn nōkil zaman awwəl. hāḏi l-bṭūn xaliyyāt yōm nimši, mitkasḥīn. ma fī-na wable wə l-hōš mawgūdāt tars ad-dinyə, nzēn. mawğūdāt min ğīna mi l-bēt, in qasrit wəḥdəh, min ḏilāk l-aġnām, ʿidnə niḏrab bi ʿaṣā nrawwəḥ b-hi al-hōš ʿan yōkil-hin ḏīb wallə ʿan yiġībən mi hnā wə mi hna nlāyam-hin. "wəḥaw wəḥaw wəḥaw… ha' ha' ha'". nlāyam-hin ʿād niltamm-hin kids. nği mātinn-hin. ʿidnə nāti-hin li l-bēt. "wəš wəš wəš" waɟidāt…. waṣlan l-bēt, dāran "mba' mba' mba' mba'" wə ḏak čuku taḥt ʿaṭēna-hə ulād-ha. durna marrəh alləh yarḥam ḏīk əl-ʿīšəh. ğa l-ʿaša, šwayit ʿēš, allah yarḥam…*
7. *A*	*kunt mutanaqqal awwəl wəllə baqēt fi makān wāḥid?*
8. *B*	*la, la, nitnaqqal.*
9. *A*	*baʿīd?*
10. *B:*	*hē, nitnaqqal baʿīd. hāḏə niɟlis fi-h sanəh waḥdəh aw səntēn baʿdēn nruḥ maʿ l-maxtaraʿ walla tṣāwīr walla luxšabəh, min ḏāk ṣōb. ntimm hnāk nubə yimkin səntēn sanəh. təḥawwəlna marrəh ṯānyəh. makān ndur ḥiywān ndur lhin akil… mi hna wə mi hna wə mi hna lēn allah təʿāla yikūn l-ḥayə wāgid jalasna makānə ṯənin sanəh ṯəlāṯ sanəh u wāḥi sanəh, kaḏā. māi mitwaffar ḥnuh gālsin, māi mā mitwaffər, tankar.*

Translation

1. A:	How was life long ago?
2. B:	Now it is very different, now; before, we moved all day, we would graze [our] animals all day, all day. We returned sometimes at one o'clock, sometimes at two o'clock, and sometimes we came back in the late afternoon… alright? We came in the late afternoon, we roamed around… O the food we ate! [lit. 'God have mercy on that food we ate']. We would eat a few dates

[and] a little rice; [Our parents] would say to us: "Come on! Go to the goats so that the wolves won't eat them!" We went up behind the goats. We went and brought them from here and here and [then] here.

3. A: Wolves?

4. B: Yes, long ago there were wolves. Yes, we took them [i.e. the goats], took them for a day, we drove them, we took them [to] this side [of the mountain] behind, the next day to that day to the side [of the mountain] which is next to this [other] side. At night we collected them and herded them into the pen.

5. A: Did you have any camels?

6. B: There weren't any camels, there weren't. There were donkeys. The donkeys were outside, here and here [*said pointing*]. [If] they had a foal, we went in and gave it the little one, the parent of this foal. We gave them milk from their mothers, from this, a little… we finished and we shut the pen on them. There were around one, two, or [even] four hundred head [of goats], so many. We followed them all day. In the morning we would untie them and have a cup of coffee, two pieces of [*interrupted*]… Breakfast was [just] two dates back in the old days. [Our] stomachs were empty all day, and we would walk around [feeling] tired. We didn't have any stamina, and there were many goats [lit. the world was full of them], right. They were there from when we came from the house. If there was one missing, one of those goats, we would get hit with a cane. We would go with the goats so a wolf wouldn't eat them, or so they wouldn't get lost from here or there. We would gather them in [while calling out]: "*wahaw, wahaw, wahaw*! *ha, ha, ha*!". We would get them in and they would gather together in a large herd. We came bringing them. We would bring them to the house [while saying]: "*wisht, wisht, wisht*". There were a lot of them. They would get to the house and start [bleating]: "*mba mba mba mba*". [If one of] those [goats] had a kid, we would give them their kid. We went around once. What hardship we faced! [lit. 'God have mercy on that life we had'.] When evening came, [we had] a little rice. God have mercy…

7. A: Long ago did you travel around or did you stay in one place?

8. B: No, no, we moved around.

9. A: Far?

10. B: Yes, we travelled far. We would stay here for a year or two, then

we would go again to Maxtaraʿ, Taṣāwīr, or to Xašabah, in that direction. We would also spend about a year or two there, and then move on to look for a place with food for the animals… here and there, here and there. [If] God Almighty provided water [lit. 'life'], we stayed for a long time in the place, for one, two, or three years, like that. [If] water was available, we stayed; [if] water wasn't available, [we got] a tanker.

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THE DIALECT OF THE EUPHRATES BEDOUIN, A FRINGE MESOPOTAMIAN DIALECT

Bruce Ingham

1. Introduction

In the spring of 1977 I was able to record material from three sources which showed a similar type of dialect. One of these I recorded in Kuwait in the area of al-Rauḏ̣atain and two others in the area north west of Nāṣiriyyah in Iraq. These were all recorded from nomads, who were grazing camels at the time. The dialects were interesting in that they showed a resemblance both to the South Mesopotamian type, the so called *gilit* dialects[1], and to the Najdi type. Geographically the nearest examples of the Najdi type would have been either that of the Muṭair, ᶜAwāzim and Rashāyidah tribes in Kuwait and Eastern Saudi Arabia, or the Shammar and Ḏ̣afīr in Northern Saudi Arabia. The two Bedouin groups in the Nāṣiriyyah area identified themselves as the Al Ḥumaid and the Rufaiᶜ, while those in Kuwait identified themselves only as Ahl al-Shimāl 'People of the North' and I will use that term in this paper to refer to them. These latter were in fact only one family i.e. one tent in the vicinity where I interviewed them. There may however have been more of them nearbye over the admittedly rather flat horizon. The Rufaiᶜ group visited consisted also of one tent encamped near the Hollandi Canal near a village of Sudan marsh dwellers at a place called Jisr Sūdān. There were four or five other tents in the vicinity. The Ḥumaid were a quite substantial group of perhaps twenty tents, from whom I was able to obtain answers to a short questionnaire. Later on in the 1980s and 1990s I met nomads in Saudi Arabia in the vicinity of Ḥafar al-Bāṭin who were also from the Rufaiᶜ and spoke a similar type of dialect.

All of these spoke a similar, though not identical type of dialect, which one could characterize as fringe south Mesopotamian, since it had the broad phonological inventory of the *gilit* type on the Lower

[1] See Blanc (1964:passim) for a characterization of these dialects.

Euphrates, but differed in some features of distribution and morphology. In this respect they showed some relationship, in so far as could be seen from the rather meagre data, to the North Najdi type of the Shammar. Although in terms of recent history i.e. the 19th and 20th centuries the Ḏ̣afīr would have been nearer neighbours to them, their dialect showed Shammari features, which the Ḏ̣afīr dialect does not show, corresponding to the later arrival of the Ḏ̣afīr in the area, which is borne out by their own oral traditions and historical sources[2].

The groups interviewed are all in fact referred to by populations further south as Ahl al-Shimāl 'people of the North'[3] or Badu al-Furāt 'Bedouins of the Euphrates'. This distinction arises presumably from the fact that other Bedouin of the region were accustomed to encounter them in the north in the grazing period and recognized them as following a slightly different grazing pattern and spending a period of the year along the Euphrates. It was explained to me that this different grazing pattern was facilitated by their owning a different breed of camel the *jūdi* (pl *jwāda*), which was immune to certain types of insect which bred along the Euphrates in spring. This meant that as soon as grazing became scarce in the desert they could move into the banks of the Euphrates. Other more strictly Najdi Bedouin, did not keep the *jwāda* and could only come to the Euphrates in the high summer (*gēḏ̣*). Before that they were confined to wells in the desert south west of the Euphrates. Their dialect was also recognized as linking them to the northern region. A further distinguishing feature of these groups is that they were all traditionally Shiᶜah, which was in contrast to the Najdi Bedouin, but linked them to the tribes of the Lower Euphrates.

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[2] See Ingham (1986: 12-16).

[3] The Rwalah of the Syrian desert also use this term, but slightly differently. It occurs frequently in Musil (1928). On p.138 it indicates tribes camping in the region of Hawran; then on p. 615 it indicates the Bani Ṣakhar and occurs without specification on p.641, 642 and 658 and in the Rwalah texts in Ingham (1995:127 and 134). It is important to remember that in the local geographic taxonomy of Eastern Arabia *šimāl* 'north' in fact refers to 'north east' ie down country towards the Euphrates. If reference is made to the true or polar north the word *jadi* 'Pole star' can be used. The use of this term by more strictly Arabian Bedouins to refer to these people may indicate 'people towards the Euphrates' or may even refer to their earlier location in the north when the later emigrants, the Shammar, 'Anizah and Ḏ̣afīr, were still in Najd to the south. Cantineau (1936:24) notes the term as used by Wetzstein (1868:163) as referring to the Syro/Jordanian tribes Sardiyyah, Bani Ṣakhar, Fuḥail, Sirḥān and Sharārat.

2. Dialect Features

2.1. *Southern Iraqi Features*

The broad features of the dialect which show an affinity to southern Iraq are shown below. The three dialect sub types will be distinguished as ASh (Ahl al-Shimāl), R (Rufaiᶜ) and Ḥ (Ḥumaid):

i) Reflexes of Classical *kāf*, *qāf*, and *jīm* as *–č-*, *-j-* and *–y-*, as in *čōl* 'desert', *jilīb* 'well' and *yāl* 'scarp', and the occurrence of the vowel *–i-* or *–u-*, rather than *–a-* in the imperfective verbal person prefixes as in *yinšid* 'he asks', *tinšid* 'you, she ask(s)' and *ninšid* 'we ask'. (but *yašḥat* 'play on a musical instrument' ASh)
ii) The anaptyctic *–i/u-* separating final clusters occurs in all environments in Iraqi dialects, but in a more restricted set of environments in Najdi, namely where the second element of the cluster is a liquid *–r-*, *-l-*, or *-n-* such as *badir* 'full moon', *zamil* 'camels' and *ibin* 'son'. Examples of the Iraqi type occurred inconsistently in the data in *ṯiliṯ* 'third', and *gilit* 'you said' ASh and *šamis* 'sun' R, but the final cluster type of form also occurred sporadically as in *ᶜabd* 'slave' and *šift* 'you saw' ASh.
iii) The Iraqi dialects generally show a vowel *–a-* in the feminine plural verbal and post nominal suffixes. This is usually *–i-* in Najdi. Examples of *–a-* occurred frequently in ASh as in *šiftakan* 'I saw you f.pl', *šiftanni* 'you f.pl.saw me', *tḥaṭban* 'you f.pl. cut wood' and *intan* 'you f.pl'. One example also occurred in R *ibnan* 'build f.pl!' R., but the Rufaiᶜ and Ḥumaid generally showed *–i-* as in *yirčibin* 'they f. ride', *šūfin* 'look f.pl!', *yḥasbinni* 'they f. consider me' Ḥ and *yidrin* 'they f. know' and *mā yinʿaddin* 'they f. are uncountable' R.
iv) Lexical features linking the dialect to southern Iraq were *anṭa/yinṭi* 'to give' ASh, *ham* 'also' Ash (*ham šift wāḥid akram minni?* 'have you also seen anyone more generous than me?'), *čōl* 'desert'.

2.2. *Northern Najdi Features*

Certain morphological features occur in the data which link the dialects to the North Najdi or Shammari type. These are more dominant in the Rufaiᶜ and Ḥumaid dialects than that of the Ahl al-Shimāl. They were:

i) The form *–i(h)* for the feminine singular marker in nouns and adjectives as in *yizīrih* 'Jazirah', *xēzarānih* 'staff', *mallih* 'burning heat', *dīrih* 'tribal area', *miḥīlih* 'drought', *ghawih* 'coffee', *sāḥi* 'tent curtain' R. The Ahl al-Shimāl in contrast showed *–a(h)* as in ***dīrah*** 'tribal area', ***dallah*** 'coffee pot'.
ii) The North Najdi type shows an idiosyncratic set of object/possessive pronoun suffixes namely *–an* 1st s., *-uh* 3rd m.s., *-ah* 3rd f.s., *-ham* 3rd

> m.p and –*kam* 2nd m.p. The forms -*uh* 3rd m.s., -*ah* 3rd f.s are shown in both the Ahl al-Shimāl, Rufaiᶜ (and Ḥumaid) dialects. The Rufaiᶜ also show –*an* as in *mᶜallman buh ant* 'did you teach me that?' and *jāni nšidan* 'he came and asked me', while the Ahl al Shimāl showed the more usual –*ni* as in *ᶜaṭni* 'give me!'. Both groups showed –*uh* and –*ah* as in *mā buh ši* 'there is nothing in it', *šiġlitu* 'his work', *addinya sāhi wa lā bah ġēm* 'the weather is clear and there is no cloud' R, *ᶜāf*[4] *ᶜinnu wakrumu hāddīrah* 'he released him and gave him the *dīrah* (as a gift)'. Neither group showed the open vowel m.pl. suffixes, but have the more wide spread –*u*- forms as in *abašširkum* 'I give you m.pl. good news', *antum* 'you m.pl' R, *wiyyāhum* 'with them m'., *yōm innihum* 'when they…' ASh.

It is interesting to compare this data with the dialects investigated by Cantineau in Syria in the 1930s shown in Cantineau (1936-7). Cantineau isolates three groups among the dialects of the nomads corresponding roughly to the time in which the speakers arrived in the northern desert (*ibid*:117). The first are the most recently arrived 'grands nomades' as he calls them, namely the Shammar and ᶜAnizah camel herding tribes, who are thought to have arrived in the northern desert in the 18th and 19th centuries and who still maintain links with relatives in Najd. The last group, the oldest, are the Ḥadīdīn, Nuᶜaim, Faḏul and Manāḏrah, 'une groupe de tribus apparues depuis très longtemps, dans la région' and of whom he notes that 'on sait d'une facon assez sure que les Faḍol dominaient la bādiyat aš-Šām au XIVe siècle' i.e. implying that they have been there since at least the 14th century. The second group in his terms 'serait venu a une époque intermédiaire impossible a préciser'. These are the ᶜUmūr, Ṣlūt, Sirḥān and Bani Khālid.

In the second part of his study Cantineau (p.226) offers an alternative classification of the dialects of the nomads of the Syrian desert into three main groups: A the dialect of the ᶜAnizah, who are the most recently arrived group, coming from central Najd in the 18th and 19th centuries, but thought to have originated in the region of Khaibar, B the dialect of the Shammar who have spread out from the Jabal Shammar in Northern Najd, the historic Jabal Ṭayy, arriving before the ᶜAnizah in the 18th century, C the Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, most of the rest, who he refers to as 'petits nomades' or 'demi-sédentaires' and who are the earliest arrivals and lastly a

[4] Possibly *ᶜafa ᶜinnu* 'he forgave him'.

subgroup Bc, who include the ʿUmūr, Ṣlūt, Sirḥān and Bani Khālid, referred to above, who he regards as clearly related to the Shammar (B), but having some relationship to the 'petits nomades' C, hence the classification Bc. In his words:

> 'Chez eux, l'essentiel de la structure d'un parler Šammar se retrouve…. Mais par d'autres côtés (qui relèvent d'ailleurs plutôt de la phonétique et du vocabulaire que de la morphologie) ces parlers rapprochent plutôt des parlers C'.

In analysing the relationship of the Bc group to the rest he says:

> 'Il ne s'agit donc pas seulement de parlers de transition entre parlers de Šammar et parlers des petits nomades. Il faut plutôt penser à des tribus, peut-être d'abord géographiquement voisines des Šammar, peut-être satellites des Šammar, peut-être même apparentées indirectement aux Šammar'.

This second classification does not differ from the first in terms of the time of arrival of the groups, but emphasizes more the relationship of the ʿUmūr, Ṣlūt, Sirḥān and Bani Khālid group Bc to the Shammar.

If we compare the dialect of the Euphrates Bedouin to those examined by Cantineau, we do not in fact find that there is an exact correspondence between the Euphrates Bedouin and any of his three groups, though they show the closest resemblance to some members of the second, intermediary, group namely the ʿUmūr, Ṣlūt and Sirḥān[5]. This can be shown by considering the features a) *–uh* as 3rd masc sing objective suffix, b) *–ah* as 3rd fem sing objective suffix, c) *–an* as 1st sing objective suffix and d) *–ih* as fem sing nominal suffix. We find that a), the most widespread, is found among the Ḥadīdīn, ʿUmūr, Ṣlūt, Nuʿaim, Manāḏ̣rah, Faḏ̣ul, Bani Khālid and Sirḥān, b) and c) are found among the ʿUmūr, Ṣlūt and Sirḥān and d) among the Ḥadīdīn, ʿUmūr, Ṣlūt, Nuʿaim, Manāḏ̣rah, Faḏ̣ul and sporadically the Bani Khālid. Interestingly also the pronunciation of *jīm* as *–y-* is found among the Sirḥān and Sardiyyah. Can this indicate that the Euphrates Bedouin considered in this paper are of the same antiquity as Cantineau's second group?

[5] See Cantineau *op cit*: 20-3, 72-3 and 45.

2.3. *General Arabian/Najdi Features*

Features which are not specifically North Najdi, but generally Najdi or Arabian are easier to find. Possibly the most salient is the presence of the *–in* ending reminiscent of Classical *tanwīn*. Both groups showed this both in poetic fragments and in prose, though due to the paucity of the data, examples are few. Examples occuring are *bah ᶜišbin lā yṭūl* 'there is grass, which is not far off', *ilnijrin ṭawāli llēl ḥissu ḏibūḥi* 'for a coffee mortar which rings all through the night' R, *waddīwān jāᶜdin ᶜindu* 'the diwān were sitting with him', *lu šāwrin bah čīs mā hu mᶜayyar* 'he has a tobacco box with a tobacco pouch in endless supply', *čabdin tyabbisah u čabdin tibillah* 'you make the heart (literally 'liver') of one man dry and moisten another' ASh.

Lexical items shown in such a small corpus of data were usually common to both areas and did not reveal a distinction of the dialect as Najdi or Iraqi and in fact in one place the ASh speaker hesitates between the two, saying *saḥab assēf yirīd/yabi yiḏbaḥ hālᶜabd* 'he draws his sword wishing to kill that slave', showing hesitation between the Iraqi *yirīd* and the Najdi *yabi* for 'he wants'. The fact that both texts involved Bedouin culture, in the one case in the form of a story and in the other in the form of a kind of monologue means that they both showed a lot of vocabulary which would not be heard in Iraqi dialects, but purely because of the subject matter.

3. Relationship of the Euphrates Bedouin to Neighbouring Populations

The Euphrates Bedouin are not mentioned widely in the ethnographic literature as a group and, as far as I know, are only mentioned in the linguistic literature in Ingham (1982 and 1986). The tribes usually referred to under this heading are the Ḥumaid, Rufaiᶜ, Sāᶜdah and Buᶜaij. My informants also mentioned a group called the Harāksah, about whom I have found no reference elsewhere. Glubb (1978:108) does however refer to some of the component tribes, though not under the name Euphrates Bedouin. He also mentions (*ibid*) a "small independent section, who camped along the edge of the desert west of Samawa", called the *Kwidah*, who by his description fall into this group. He continues "They claimed a somewhat tenuous relationship with the Shammar, but at the same time were Shiite though all the desert tribes were Sunnites [excluding presumably Euphrates tribes

referred to here]. This conversion to Shiism must have meant that they had already been several centuries in Iraq". It seems that in an earlier period, mainly in the 18th century, the Euphrates Bedouin were part of the confederation of the Qashᶜam (also referred to in earlier times as the Ghaziyah), who were in control of the lower Euphrates region and that in the 19th century the Ḥumaid and Rufaiᶜ had joined the Muntafiq, who in that period had become the most powerful confederation of the region (Oppenheim 1952 Band III, 1-2:408-13). Glubb mentions (1960: 273 and also in a personal communication), that in the early 20th century these tribes did not normally venture into the southern desert, but had begun to nomadize out in the desert to the west during the period of his involvement there during the 1920s, because of movement away by stronger tribes. The movement of the Ḥumaid into the southern desert is referred to in a Ḏ̣afīri verse reported in Ingham (1986:43*) yā ḥeif rāḥat dīriti liḥmeid u ᶜafnīn alkalām* 'Oh woe that my lands are lost to the Ḥumaid and those of impure speech', also including an interesting Najdi comment on the speech of others, though it is not clear here whether 'those of impure speech' are actually the Ḥumaid or other non-Bedouin tribes. A similar situation is reported for some tribes in the west of the Syrian desert by Chatty (1990:127), where she mentions a "crossing of specializations" since "the poorer tribes continue to herd camels, while the richer 'noble' tribes herd sheep deep into the desert with the help of modern technological equipment".

To summarize we can view the socio-linguistic position of the Euphrates Bedouin as in contrast to two other groups i) The truly Mesopotamian and *shiᶜah* groups of agriculturalists and shepherd tribes (*šāwiya*) intimately connected with the Euphrates and ii) Najdi Bedouin and Sunni groups, some connected less intimately with the Euphrates and some not at all. If one is to construct a cline running from more Mesopotamian to more Najdi, the Rufaiᶜ stand between the two groups mentioned, sometimes geographically and sometimes only linguistically and culturally, depending on the time of year and their migratory cycle. The interpretation of their position in the dialect spectrum could be in one of two ways. Either, if as suggested above, these tribes were more frequently located close to the Euphrates in earlier times, they could have absorbed their Iraqi characteristics through contact with the riverine tribes or, considering their earlier emigration to the Euphrates region as mentioned in the sources as

part of the Qashᶜam confederation, perhaps they represent an earlier type of Najdi speech, before the sound shift of *–č-* to *–c-* [-ts-] and *–j-* to *–ǵ-* [–dz-]. This latter explanation fits in rather with the explanation given by Cantineau for similar dialect types investigated by him in Syria mentioned above, namely that dialect type corresponds to antiquity in the region and is I think preferable. However the presence of the change of *–j-* to *–y-* in the Euphrates dialect seems easier to explain as the result of assimilation to the dialects of Southern Iraq, where that feature is widespread, being general to southern Iraq, Khuzistan and the Gulf Coast so that it seems more likely that it would have been acquired by the Euphrates bedouin after their arrival. As mentioned above, this change also occurs among the Sirḥān of the Syrian Desert (Cantineau 1936-7:24), but it seems difficult to establish any link between the two. Nevertheless the hypothesis that it was brought by the Euphrates Bedouin from an original Arabian homeland cannot be discounted.

Text

The text shown here was recorded from the Rufaiᶜ informant and appears in Ingham (1982:137). I reproduce it here to exemplify the dialect and also because it is in itself an interesting text in terms of the way it was composed. It is a brief description of some phases of the nomadic life cycle, delivered not as a descriptive account, but rather in the manner of a commentary on the action as though it is unfolding in front of the speaker, punctuated by occasional statements, commands or salutations to the imagined participants. It also contains traditional sayings

Most of the texts I have obtained from tribal people have been fictional stories, historical or personal narratives, sometimes imaginary, or imaginary conversations, performed by one or more informant, very often accompanied by poems and in one case by a song. This is one of the few descriptive ones I have and it is interesting that it is delivered almost as a narrative or performance. It encapsulates part of the yearly life cycle of the Rufaiᶜ, mentioning the daily grazing movements of the herds at different times of day and the yearly seasonal movements out to the desert and back to the Euphrates, also describing different weather conditions and the search for grazing.

1. almuṭar muṭar iššimāl, walfiʿl fiʿl iryāl, walšēl šēl iymāl.
2. iddinya sāḥi walā bah ġēm, wilṣār iġbār nsammīh ʿayy.
3. sraḥat alabāʿir, lō ġyāb iššamis rawwiḥat. lō ṣār inšarat iṣṣubuḥ.
4. iṭlaʿaw lilbarr, irjaʿaw liddīrih. baššita niẓhar. wāḥid yrawwid ʿišib yitlaʿ arrawwād. lō ṣār mā liga yiẓul[6]. addinya maḥal u gaḥaṭ mā-buh ši. iddīrih miḥīlih.
5. rabbuʿat iddinya. nirwi māy ġadīr. māy šurba. nwarrid "šīlu rabīʿ ibširu balxēr".
6. "ibširu balxēr. ibširu barrabīʿ u šīlu wintaklu".
7. abašširkum bah xēr u bah ʿišbin lā yṭūl".
8. irjaʿaw liddīrih. ḥaddaraw šaṭṭ ilfarāt. inzalaw halna banaw ilbyūt. "ibnan ibsāʿ giṭaʿna ljūʿ nrīd ačil u čāy". iydigg ighawih wiyyūn almasāyiir yišurbūn ighawih. "ḥayyuh, ḥayyuhum allah balxēr antum!"

Translation

1. The rain is the rain of the north, the deeds the deeds of men and the carrying the carrying of camels.
2. The weather is clear and there is no cloud. If there is dust we call it *ʿayy*.
3. The camels have gone out to pasture. If it is in the evening, we say *rawwiḥat*, if we say *nšarat* that is in the morning.
4. They have gone out to the desert. They have come back to the camping ground. In the winter we go out. One person goes out to scout for pasture. He, the scout, goes out. If it happens that he finds nothing, he stays [until he does find something]. The land is dry and in drought, there is nothing there. The dīrah is in drought.
5. The land is covered in grass. We drink water from the pools, drinking water. We bring the flocks down to drink. "Move camp! it is spring, rejoice in the good fortune".
6. "Rejoice in the spring. Rejoice in the good fortune. Move camp and trust [in God]!"
7. "I bring you good news. There is good fortune and there is grass which is not far off".[7]
8. They have come back to the camping ground. They have come down to the river Euphrates. Our families have dismounted and pitched their tents. "Pitch the tents quickly (Oh women). Hunger has broken us. We want food and tea". He pounds coffee and the wayfarers come in and drink coffee. "Greetings to him. Greetings to them[8]. God keep you well".

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[6] *yiḍul* < *yiḍull*, but with the stress on the first syllable.

[7] Or perhaps "which will not last long".

[8] These greetings are in the form of an imperative with the recipient of the greeting referred to in the 3rd person. In fact the person to whom the imperative is addressed is God, as can be seen by longer versions such as *allah ḥayyuh* "God greet him!"

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QUELQUES DONNÉES SOCIOLINGUISTIQUES SUR L'ARABE PARLÉ À DAMAS À LA FIN DES ANNÉES MILLE NEUF CENT SOIXANTE-DIX

Jérôme Lentin

1. Introduction

Les données ici présentées ont été recueillies à Damas entre 1976 et 1981, alors que j'avais la chance d'y résider, d'abord comme 'pensionnaire scientifique', puis, à partir de 1979, comme 'bibliothécaire scientifique' de l'Institut Français d'Études arabes de Damas (I.F.E.A.D.).[1] Elles ont été rassemblées et analysées dans ma thèse de doctorat de troisième cycle[2], non publiée à ce jour.[3] Si je me résous, plus de vingt-cinq ans après, à en faire état, sans avoir eu le temps de les reprendre ni d'en réélaborer la présentation, vu que le temps était compté pour la rédaction de cette contribution et bien que je sois conscient des défauts du travail du jeune chercheur que j'étais alors, c'est qu'il m'a semblé que c'était précisément leur âge qui pouvait faire encore l'intérêt de ces données.[4] On voudra bien se souvenir aussi que la sociolinguistique n'avait pas encore développé ses méthodes jusqu'au degré de sophistication où elles sont depuis parvenues. Pourtant Clive Holes, mon aîné de quelques mois, avait lui aussi, peu de temps auparavant, soutenu à l'Université de Cambridge une thèse qui, publiée dans une version remaniée en 1987, devait marquer une date dans les études de sociolinguistique arabe. Il y utilisait, pour étayer de multiples considérations par ailleurs fort nuancées, des

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[1] Devenu depuis une des composantes de l'Institut Français du Proche Orient (I.F.P.O.).

[2] Préparée sous le direction de mon maître David Cohen (Lentin 1982a).

[3] À l'exception d'une version remaniée de la section 1 du chapitre VII (Lentin 1982b), qui traite plutôt d'un problème d'histoire du dialecte.

[4] D'autant que, sauf erreur, aucune étude sociolinguistique sur Damas n'a été publiée depuis lors (malgré leurs titres, les travaux de J. Daher portent en réalité sur les interférences entre dialecte et arabe standard à Damas). Ce n'est que tout récemment que cette regrettable situation a commencé à changer, grâce aux travaux d'Hanadi Ismail (Ismail 2007 et 2008 ; v. aussi dans ce volume).

instruments d'analyse dont, me référant pourtant souvent aux mêmes auteurs que lui (au premier rang desquels naturellement William Labov), je ne m'étais pas moi-même servi. Je ne suis pas sûr de le regretter tout à fait. Oserai-je dire que l'attitude circonspecte que je manifeste ainsi d'un mot trop rapide, et sans argumenter, à l'égard de certains usages de théories par ailleurs fécondes (attitude dont j'espère qu'elle ne froissera pas les éditeurs du présent volume), ne sera peut-être pas pour déplaire à Clive Holes, si j'en juge du moins par des conversations que nous avons pu avoir, ou par son œuvre ultérieure ? Quoi qu'il en soit, je formule le souhait qu'il trouve quelque intérêt à la présente étude, qui lui est amicalement dédiée.

2. Objectifs et déroulement du travail

Il s'agissait d'essayer d'identifier, dans un des dialectes arabes les mieux décrits mais encore inexploré du point de vue sociolinguistique, des variantes phonologiques, morphologiques, syntaxiques, lexicales et, par l'observation et l'enquête (y compris au moyen de questionnaires), de les corréler éventuellement à des (combinaisons de) paramètres sociaux ; au-delà, d'atteindre certaines données objectives contribuant—inconsciemment le plus souvent—à la représentation consciente que se font les locuteurs de la langue de leur communauté linguistique et qui intervient dans les jugements sociaux qu'ils portent les uns sur les autres ; enfin, d'essayer de réunir des éléments de description et d'analyse du changement linguistique, en décrivant des processus et en déterminant éventuellement des groupes sociaux novateurs. L'entreprise se heurtait à la relative pauvreté des données sociologiques dont on disposait alors sur la ville de Damas d'une part, sur l'histoire de son dialecte de l'autre. Le nombre des descriptions disponibles et leur richesse permettait par contre de faire un premier inventaire des variantes déjà signalées (et parfois commentées), et la lecture attentive des sources (recueils de textes en particulier) d'en repérer d'autres. Il fallait donc s'efforcer de voir si l'enquête permettrait d'en confirmer ou d'en préciser l'existence, en identifier d'autres (certaines nous ont été signalées par les informateurs eux-mêmes), et voir comment elles se distribuent. Il s'est avéré que, dans certains cas, les diverses formes sont en distribution complémentaire, en fonction de contraintes syntaxiques ou sémantiques, ou de conditionnements lexicaux, qui n'avaient pas été aperçus ; mais

dans beaucoup d'autres cas, qu'il s'agissait bien de variantes sociolinguistiques, en partie au moins. En d'autres termes, on a toujours essayé de clarifier la part respective du sociolinguistique et du plus proprement linguistique, même si ces deux faces sont indissolublement liées : le social est constamment réinvesti dans les variantes, et oriente leur devenir. Une autre préoccupation constante a été de toujours prendre en compte et, quand c'était possible, de privilégier la dimension historique des problèmes rencontrés : on ne peut en effet, à notre sens, parvenir à une explication satisfaisante des données sociolinguistiques recueillies qu'en les mettant dans une perspective diachronique. Pour cette raison, sources et travaux anciens (et moins anciens) ont été aussi souvent que possible mis à contribution, et, lorsqu'ils paraissaient suffisamment fiables, et qu'ils fournissaient les renseignements nécessaires sur l'origine des données, ils ont été considérés comme des 'informateurs' (soigneusement distingués des nôtres, cela va sans dire).

Autour de 1980, Damas compte 1,3 million d'habitants, en très grande partie des jeunes ; un quart de sa population n'est pas originaire de la ville. La communauté chrétienne est encore partiellement regroupée dans son quartier traditionnel. On peut observer la coexistence d'une ancienne répartition sociale, accessoirement confessionnelle ou ethnique des habitants par quartiers avec une nouvelle, plus socio-économique, mais où se retrouvent ces paramètres, le tout s'accompagnant de changements plus ou moins brusques, très sensibles aux habitants, des structures sociales traditionnelles. La vieille ville (et ses alentours en direction du Mīdān)[5], le Mīdān, les faubourgs, l-ʾAkrād sont les quartiers les plus populaires ; le nord ouest (Ṣālḥiyye, Rawḍa), et le nord est (ʾAṣṣāʿ en partie), les plus beaux quartiers ; partout ailleurs, quartiers anciens ou modernes voient se côtoyer des populations plus ou moins modestes.

Les 60 informateurs—tous nés ou ayant toujours vécu depuis leur enfance à Damas—n'ont pas été choisis en vue de constituer un échantillon représentatif de la population de Damas : peu sont très âgés ; peu sont très jeunes ; les femmes sont sous-représentées (1/3

[5] Une liste alphabétique des noms de tous les quartiers cités est donnée sous la légende de la carte qui figure en fin d'article (avant les *Références bibliographiques*), avec des numéros permettant de les situer sur cette carte.

des informateurs) ; les Chrétiens sont surreprésentés (30%)[6] les Chrétiens sont surreprésentés (30%) ; certains quartiers très populaires, ou les faubourgs, ou encore l'extension nouvelle d'al-Mazze sont peu ou pas représentés. L'ensemble est malgré tout socialement relativement homogène (il représente les couches moyennes).

Il était *a priori* raisonnable de penser que les paramètres principaux à prendre en compte étaient la classe sociale, le niveau d'instruction, l'âge, le sexe, l'appartenance communautaire (confessionnelle) et le quartier d'origine (et le cas échéant le(s) quartier(s) de résidence ultérieurs) ; des informations sur les origines des parents ont été également recueillies. On verra que, dans l'analyse, ce sont les trois derniers paramètres : quartier d'origine, sexe et appartenance communautaire qui ont été privilégiés. Il faut naturellement souligner que la prise en considération de 'l'appartenance communautaire', élément parmi d'autres de l'identité sociale, est requise si on veut tenir compte des réalités sociologiques et historiques de la société damascène et, conséquemment, que l'utilisation de termes comme 'Musulmans', 'Chrétiens' et 'Juifs' est purement 'sociologique'.

L'enquête a concerné 43 informateurs sur les 60. Sur certains points précis, un questionnaire spécial a été confectionné et soumis à 25 informateurs (dont 8 des 43), d'où le total de 60 (43 + 17 [25–8] = 60). On pourra s'apercevoir, en particulier au § 5, que, pour des raisons diverses, toutes les variantes n'ont pas toujours pu être étudiées avec l'ensemble des 43 enquêtés. C'est une des raisons pour lesquelles les résultats sont donnés pour des nombres d'informateurs variables. D'autres raisons en sont que des résultats incertains ont été laissés de côté ici, et que par ailleurs, dans certains cas, les résultats des 17 informateurs supplémentaires ont été intégrés à l'ensemble.

Le système de transcription adopté est celui qui est généralement utilisé par les spécialistes du dialecte de Damas (on se souviendra que **q* est réalisé et transcrit ʾ, sauf en cas d'emprunt au standard). Consonnes (dans l'ordre de l'alphabet arabe) : ʾ, *b*, *t*, *ž*, *ḥ*, *x*, *d*, *r*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *(ḏ̣)*, ʿ, *ġ*, *f*, ʾ, *k*, *l* *(ḷ)*, *m*, *n*, *h*, *w*, *y* ; voyelles : *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ə* (et ᵊ pour la voyelle de disjonction) ; *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*.

[6] En 1960, dernière année pour laquelle on disposait à l'époque d'un recensement relativement précis, ils étaient estimés représenter 8,5% de la population damascène.

Abréviations utilisées : C = Chrétien(s) (ou : consonne) ; C_1, C_2, C_3 = 1e, 2e, 3e consonne radicale ; ex. = exemple ; F = femme ; fém. = féminin ; H = homme ; inf. = informateur(s), informatrice(s) ; J = Juif(s) ; litt. = littéralement ; M = Musulman(s) ; masc. = masculin ; pers. = personne ; plur. = pluriel ; pron. = pronom ; qqc = quelque chose ; qqn = quelqu'un ; sing. = singulier ; V = voyelle.

3. La perception de la situation sociolinguistique et son expression

– *Appréciations sur les quartiers*. Les quartiers contigus du Mīdān et de Šāġūr, souvent cités ensemble, semblent constituer la seule entité géolinguistique reconnue par les informateurs, qui pensent pouvoir en reconnaître les locuteurs, opérant cependant entre eux une différence : le *ḥaki* ("façon de parler ; dialecte (de l'arabe) ; façon d'articuler") du Mīdān est plus *muhazzab* ('relevé, policé'), moins 'emphatique' ; bien que parfois jugé vulgaire, il est surtout considéré comme emblématique d'un parler populaire au sens positif du terme, voire 'viril'. On se trouve ici au croisement de deux phénomènes : une coloration effectivement 'emphatique' des voyelles d'une part, et d'autre part un allongement des finales et même un débit posé et 'épais', si l'on peut dire, qui est en effet une caractéristique, au-delà de ces quartiers, d'une façon de parler sentie comme 'populaire' (v. § 6)[7], que de nombreux locuteurs peuvent produire si les circonstances s'y prêtent ; ce qui change à Damas, en fait, c'est la *manfaxa*, la *taxāne*, l''enflure' et l''épaisseur' que l'on donne à son discours. Le *mīdānī* et le *šāġūrī* présentent en général, à des degrés divers, ces deux phénomènes simultanément ; leur langage est perçu *ipso facto* comme populaire ; inversement, on attribuera facilement à ces deux quartiers un langage ressenti comme populaire. Le *mīdāni* se caractériserait par un allongement des finales (*maṭṭ*, v. plus bas), l'emploi de mots du Ḥōrān (*sāyeḥ* pour *ḥāra* "ruelle"). À Šāġūr on rencontrerait le langage le plus *radīʾ*, 'vulgaire', spécialement 'populaire', 'très dialectal', et la prononciation y serait plus *mufaxxam*/*muḍaxxam* '(phonétiquement) emphatique', *tʾīl* ('épaisse'). Sans caractériser ce langage

[7] Nous utilisons beaucoup le terme 'populaire' : il convient de préciser que, lorsqu'il est utilisé pour rapporter des jugements émis par les informateurs, il ne traduit pas en général un terme arabe particulier, mais résume plutôt leur appréciation. Pour les termes 'techniques' qu'ils utilisent, v. un peu plus loin.

de façon très précise, les informateurs lui attribuent plus facilement qu'à tout autre telle ou telle variante qu'ils jugent spécialement populaire ou ancienne. Bāb əs-Srīže est associé à Šāġūr car il lui est lui aussi contigu, et son langage jugé 'très dialectal'. À Sūʾ Sarūža (autrefois résidence des fonctionnaires de l'Empire ottoman et appelé pour cette raison *Stambūl əz-zġīre*, "la petite Istamboul") on parle avec *murūne* ('douceur'), le parler y est *nāzīk* ('raffiné')—mais pour d'autres il est 'vulgaire' comme celui du Mīdān et de Šāġūr. Le parler de Mhāžrīn est positivement apprécié, mais celui de (Šēx) Muḥyəddīn est '(trop)' populaire. Le parler de ʾAṣṣāʿ rappellerait les dialectes libanais ; celui des grecs catholiques s'y distinguerait de celui des grecs orthodoxes, comme dans la vieille ville. Celui des Chrétiens de Žūra (est de la vieille ville, au nord de Bāb Tūma) et surtout l-Masbak est considéré comme vulgaire (*baladi*) et constitue donc un modèle à éviter. Un informateur nous a donné une vision d'ensemble qui reflète assez bien le contenu implicite de bien des discours recueillis. Il distingue trois grands ensembles : Mīdān et Šāġūr, lə-Mhāžrīn et ṣ-Ṣālḥiyye ; Žuwwāt əš-Šām (Sūʾ Sarūža + vieille ville etc.).

– *Termes techniques.* Un certain nombre de termes sont récurrents dans les appréciations des informateurs

a) *šāmi* '(typiquement) damascène'—même si de fait le trait ainsi décrit peut se retrouver ailleurs—vs *mu šāmi* 'non attesté à Damas' et donc d'origine extérieure. On emploie aussi *baladi* pour damascène par opposition à ce qui ne l'est pas (*baladi* pouvant signifier par ailleurs 'vulgaire'). *ʾaṣīl* signifie 'damascène depuis toujours'. *ġarīb* qualifie ce qui n'est pas familier (et donc pas damascène) vs *mu garīb* 'reconnu comme damascène' (même s'il n'est pas employé par l'informateur).

b) *ʿatīʾ* (souvent prononcé en allongeant la voyelle *ī*) 'très ancien', 'employé seulement encore par les personnes âgées, éventuellement compris des jeunes', signifie souvent 'vieilli', 'vieillot', 'archaïque', ou même 'disparu depuis un moment déjà'.[8] *ždīd* '(relativement) récent', éventuellement 'd'importation récente', signifie le plus souvent 'né d'un développement relativement récent', ou '(forme) employée en concurrence avec (une forme) *ʿatīʾ* et considérée comme devant être bientôt la seule employée'.

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[8] *šāmi ʿatīʾ* signifie "vieux damascène, typique, à l'ancienne" mais qualifie une personne, non son langage.

c) 'doux' vs 'lourd', 'distingué' vs 'non distingué', 'vraiment dialectal' vs 'faisant cultivé' vs 'snob'. *nāᶜem* 'doux à l'oreille' vs *tʾīl* ('lourd'), *txīn* ('épais, grossier'). Ce dernier terme qualifie une prononciation plus traînante, plus 'emphatique', donc plus 'populaire' et éventuellement plus 'vulgaire'; il n'est cependant pas nécessairement péjoratif. La *taxāne* (associée à la *manfaxa*) peut ainsi qualifier l'emphase (au sens non phonétique). *tʾīl* peut avoir ce sens, mais le plus souvent s'oppose à *nāᶜem* et signifie donc 'désagréable à l'oreille', soit par l'emploi de phonèmes considérés comme moins 'doux', soit par une prononciation plus traînante, jugée moins 'économique', soit par l'emploi de termes jugés 'peu élégants'. Notons aussi le terme (assez méprisant) *ḥafīri*[9] "plouc, qui ne connaît rien de la 'civilisation" citadine (dans ses comportements, sa façon de s'habiller etc.". Enfin, *bəšeᶜ*veut dire 'vilain', pas joli à entendre et qu'on doit donc éviter d'employer.

La douceur et la musicalité peuvent être décrites aussi par le terme *murūne*; si on leur associe la distinction, on emploiera les qualificatifs *nāzīk* ou *mhazzab*. *musaqqaf* a un sens différent, et très précis: il réfère à l'emploi de tournures, à une prononciation, etc. … considérés comme plus proches de l'arabe standard et faisant donc plus 'cultivé'. Il peut s'opposer à *ᶜāmmi* '(pleinement) dialectal', qui qualifie (le langage d') une personne du peuple, sans culture académique (le terme est surtout employé, pas forcément péjorativement, par des personnes qui se considèrent être à un niveau supérieur dans la société. *baladi*, on l'a dit, désigne à la fois le parler local et qualifie éventuellement un parler considéré comme 'vulgaire' (*ktīr ᶜāmmi* litt. 'très/trop dialectal'). Pour qualifier un langage pédant, snob, affecté on emploie *kallaf* (*bikallef b-ḥakyo* 'il parle avec affectation', *ḥakyo mətkallef* 'il a un langage affecté' ou *byətṣannaᶜ*(ou *byəṣṭəneᶜ*) *b-ḥakyo* (avec l'idée d'une façon de parler peu naturelle, artificielle, par opposition à la façon ordinaire de parler, de s'exprimer, qui n'est pas *muṣṭanaᶜ*. Le terme peut aussi stigmatiser simplement un comportement linguistique 'différent' : ainsi de cette informatrice (ayant pourtant appris l'arabe classique quand beaucoup l'ignoraient) mais parlant l'arabe dialectal avec une nette emphase des consonnes emphatiques (alors que son groupe de condisciples emphatisait peu). Inversement, une prononciation non emphatique pourra être stigmatisée comme singeant les Européens.

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[9] *Nisba* sur le nom de Ḥafīr, près de Damas.

Excursus historique : les Zgərtiyye. Jusqu'au début du 20e siècle, les *Zgərtiyye* étaient des caïds de quartiers, à la fois redoutables et redoutés, mais tous parfaitement intégrés dans la société, où ils exerçaient des professions honorables. Ils se conformaient à des principes et à des codes sociaux très raffinés : défense de l'opprimé, stoïcisme dans l'épreuve, élégance du costume, des comportements, des formules de politesse et aussi de la façon de parler et de prononcer, dont voici une description[10]:

> *… ṯumma min ʿādat hāʾulāʾi z-zgərtiyye ʾan yatakallamū bi-l-ʾaḥruf bi-milʾ ʾašdāqihim wa ḥulūqihim wa bi-šakl mufaxxam, wa yamuddūna baʿḍ al-kalimāt ṯumma yantahibūnahā bi-surʿa ʿinda nihāyatihā.*
> … Ces *Zgərtiyye* ont pour habitude de prononcer tous les sons en articulant bien et à pleine bouche, en emphatisant, et d'allonger [les finales de] certains mots avant de les escamoter brusquement pour finir.
> *… fa yaruddu ʿalayhim as-salām bi-qawlihi : ʿalēk[11] əs-salām ʾaxi, wa yamudduhā, ṯumma yašfaʿu ḏālika bi-qawlihi : wa raḥmatu ḷḷā wa barakātuhu fa yuxaffifu ḍ-ḍaġṭ ʿalā ḥarfay at-tāʾ fī kalimatay 'raḥma**t**u ḷḷāh' wa 'barakā**t**uhu' wa yašudduhā šaddan, ṯumma yašfaʿu bi-qawlihi : 'tfa**dd**al ʾaxi' (ʾay tfaḍḍal ʾaxi), 'ʾAḷḷa yudīm ʿizzak yā **t**ayyib' (ʾay yā ṭayyib) fa yunaʿʿim at-ṭāʾ wa t-tāʾ wa d-dāl wa ḍ-ḍād bi-sāʾir ʾalfāḏihi yasḥaquhā saḥqan.*
> … [le *Zgərti*] rend la salutation en disant : "ʿalēk əs-salām ʾaxi" en allongeant, et il enchaîne : "u raḥmatu ḷḷā w barakāto" ('et la miséricorde et les bénédictions divines'), avec des *t* très légers [= d'occlusion minimale] dans *raḥmatu* et *barakāto*, et étirés, et il continue : "tfaddal ʾaxi" (pour *tfaḍḍal ʾaxi*), "ʾAḷḷa ydīm ʿəzzak ya tayyeb" (pour *ṭayyeb*), en adoucissant [en réduisant l'occlusion / en désemphatisant] l'articulation du *tāʾ*, du *ṭāʾ*, du *dāl* et du *ḍād* dans tous les mots où ces sons apparaissent et en les réduisant à peu de chose.

– Le seul véritable terme 'technique' employé par les informateurs est *maṭṭ* (nom d'action *maṭṭ*) ou *maṭmaṭ* (nom d'action *maṭmaṭa*) "allongement de la syllabe finale, finales traînantes". Ce trait est toujours cité comme caractéristique soit du parler populaire, soit du parler de Damas en général (et souvent de celui des Juifs)[12]. Ceci veut

[10] al-ʿAllāf 1976, p. 245, l. 6-8 et 15-20.

[11] Le texte comporte ici une *kasra* sous le *lām*, d'où la transcription, qui sinon est plus classicisante, et plus proche d'une translittération ; dans la traduction par contre, la transcription a été volontairement modifiée, pour se rapprocher de ce qu'on peut imaginer des paroles que le texte vise à rendre, sans qu'il soit évidemment possible de le vérifier.

[12] Cf. Grotzfeld 1964, p. 39 n. 2). On dit d'ailleurs, à qui allonge beaucoup les finales : "Tu parles comme un vieux Juif". Pour Alep, où ce trait est attribué aux Juifs

dire d'une part que les Damascènes sont conscients de cette particularité, et d'autre part qu'ils la stigmatisent (quand elle est trop prononcée à leurs yeux), l'attribuant alors à tel ou tel groupe qu'ils veulent marquer comme spécialement populaire, ou *baladi*, ou plus simplement particulier.

– Un certain nombre de formes sont souvent citées par les Chrétiens comme leur étant propres. Les Musulmans—quand ils les connaissent—les qualifient de 'chrétiennes' ou de 'libanaises'. Il est probable en effet que, par contacts avec des Chrétiens libanais, et des Libanais en général, ils fassent des emprunts à leurs dialectes ; mais il est possible aussi, comme on le verra, que les Chrétiens libanais et damascènes aient conservé des traits perdus par le(s) dialecte(s) des Musulmans de Damas.

– On indiquera pour finir qu'on peut entendre qualifier de *ʿāmmi ʾaktar* 'plus dialectal' des formes etc. qui ont par ailleurs une variante (jugée) plus proche de l'arabe standard, et on fera surtout remarquer que cette appréciation peut être tout à fait positive : 'c'est ainsi qu'on dit, ou qu'on doit dire, quand on parle le 'vrai' dialecte'.

4. Existe-t-il une norme?

Cette dernière observation nous amène tout naturellement à la question de la norme dialectale.[13] Nous avons vu que les mêmes variantes sont l'objet de jugements variés, mais, à y regarder de près, cohérents, ce qui amène à plusieurs conclusions:

– un certain nombre de formes ou de variantes, décrites soit comme vieillies, très dialectales, populaires, vulgaires, voire non damascènes, et qui sont effectivement anciennes et probablement en voie de disparition, suggèrent qu'il existe 'de la norme';

– un certain nombre d'appréciations traduisent l'ignorance, ou la surdité à certaines formes pourtant typiquement damascènes, et suggèrent une relative ignorance réciproque des groupes sociaux quant à leurs usages linguistiques, et donc éventuellement une relative ségrégation sociale, mais en tout cas une inconscience et/ou une tolérance dont la conséquence est la coexistence possible de *plusieurs normes*—quelques unes, ou une, pouvant tendre à s'imposer, et à

et aux Chrétiens, cf. Sabuni 1980, p. 66 et n. 4.

[13] Il va sans dire que l'existence d'une communauté linguistique implique nécessairement l'existence d'une norme ; mais celle-ci peut être plus ou moins souple ou contraignante.

devenir la référence à laquelle les autres se conforment, ou non. C'est par référence à cette norme ou plus vraisemblablement à l'une de ces normes que les productions des locuteurs sont éventuellement jugées : un informateur juge par exemple *māni* (cf. § 5 variante 37) 'ʾaṣaḥḥ' "plus correcte" (alors qu'il ne l'emploie pas lui-même, mais *māli*). Cette part d'ignorance réciproque fait que, confronté (par l'enquêteur) à une forme non connue 'subjectivement', le locuteur / informateur questionné l'attribuera à un groupe social qui n'est pas le sien, fournissant ainsi du même coup un élément de l'appréciation qu'il porte sur sa propre appartenance sociale, et la nature des grilles à sa disposition ; plus la réponse est fantaisiste plus elle est intéressante car, confrontée au système présidant aux appréciations données sur des formes connues de lui, elle permet de mieux cerner ce qui joue dans les appréciations 'sociologiques' sur les faits linguistiques (ce qui déplaît, par exemple pour des raisons d'euphonie, sera jugé populaire, vulgaire, snob etc.) et de mieux comprendre comment elles s'organisent en système, et comment celui-ci fonctionne.

Les différentes grilles d'appréciation (populaire/moins populaire, vieux/récent, chrétien/musulman, du quartier x/ du quartier y) sont utilisées simultanément, comme il est naturel. Mais ce qui est remarquable, c'est le caractère nuancé des appréciations portées et la relative rareté des jugements induits à partir d'un 'raisonnement' purement 'sociologique' (du type : tel quartier, plus populaire, se voit attribuer une forme ressentie comme populaire).

On peut observer aussi que les informateurs sont souvent conscients que le choix entre les différentes formes à leur disposition est dans plus d'un cas déterminé (partiellement) par des facteurs d'ordre sémantique, syntaxique ..., ce qui détermine un grand nombre d'évolutions possibles au niveau de la communauté linguistique prise dans son ensemble, le choix de la voie qui sera finalement empruntée étant déterminé *in fine* par des facteurs d'ordre sociologique (prestige d'un groupe par exemple), choix toujours susceptible d'être mis en cause dans la diachronie. Corrélativement, ces variantes ne sont pas 'vécues' comme sociolinguistiques.

Le large éventail de qualificatifs utilisé par les locuteurs pour exprimer leurs jugements reflète deux réalités : l'habitude d'entendre dire par d'autres que soi des choses (légèrement ou très) différentes de ce qu'on dit soi-même (que l'on pense à la diversité dialectale de la Syrie, sans parler de celle du monde arabe, aujourd'hui omniprésente

par le canal de la télévision), et aux contacts quotidiens avec les habitants de Damas non originaires de la ville : la diversité linguistique fait partie du quotidien des Damascènes (ce qui explique à la fois leur 'tolérance', leur finesse de perception et, souvent, l'intérêt qu'ils prennent à parler de ces questions) ; certaines variantes, repérées ou non, ne sont assorties d'aucun jugement d'aucune sorte, ceci étant renforcé peut-être par le fait qu'on les retrouve, *mutatis mutandis*, ailleurs qu'à Damas (par ex. l'alternance *e*/*o* de la voyelle d'inaccompli de certains verbes, cf. § 8).

Il n'est pas possible d'aborder, dans ces quelques pages, le rôle que joue la référence, implicite ou explicite, à la norme de l'arabe standard. Il est évidemment à prendre en compte, et s'exerce, comme souvent dans le monde arabophone, de façon complexe et parfois contradictoire (d'autant qu'une forme standard ou réputée telle pourra, selon le contexte, être ressentie comme élégante ou pédante—ces valeurs associées évoluant d'ailleurs avec le temps). Il apparaît en tout cas clairement que cette référence n'est qu'un des facteurs parmi d'autres de l'évolution du dialecte, et n'est certainement pas le plus important. On s'aperçoit ainsi que lorsqu'un informateur déclare avoir consciemment 'réformé' son propre usage (*mʿaddəl-a* "j'ai corrigé cette façon que j'avais de dire telle chose"), c'est en général pour adopter une forme plus koinique, moins marquée socialement, et souvent 'plus dialectale', au sens qu'on a déjà indiqué de 'plus éloignée' de la forme standard correspondante. En tout cas, si les emprunts, lexicaux en particulier, à l'arabe standard sont sans doute de plus en plus nombreux, ils sont acclimatés, et finalement dialectalisés (souvent assez rapidement, via quelques étapes intermédiaires parfois), aussi bien sur le plan morphonologique que sur le plan sémantique. Et l'on ne peut qu'être frappé, lorsqu'on compare les usages contemporains à ceux qui sont documentés pour les périodes antérieures, tant dans la littérature dialectologique que dans les textes dialectaux ou dialectalisants de périodes plus anciennes, par la 'résistance' et la grande stabilité du dialecte de Damas, malgré l'importance des apports de populations nouvelles à l'époque récente.[14]

[14] C'est à juste titre que C. Miller (Miller 2003a p. 193-194 et 2003b p. 254-255) range le dialecte de Damas dans la première des quatre catégories qu'elle distingue à cet égard, celle des 'Old capital-cities with a prestigious and well-established dialect', catégorie dont elle dit : "Their vernacular developed long ago in a sedentary environment and the historical leveling processes did not seem to have led to radical structural changes".

À la question posée : existe-t-il une norme ? on peut donc répondre que, si elle n'est pas explicitée (car non explicitable, au moins sur un plan théorique, pour des raisons idéologiques évidentes), il existe pour chaque groupe de locuteurs une norme, ces différentes 'sous-normes' étant fédérées, si l'on peut dire, par le recours à une norme unique, elle-même une 'multinorme', en ce qu'elle est en permanence construite par le locuteur, qui se réfère d'abord à son propre modèle linguistique (celui du groupe auquel il appartient), à celui/ceux du modèle du/des groupe(s) qu'il considère comme prestigieux ou dans lesquels il se reconnaît, à des critères 'esthétiques' (eux-mêmes en dernière analyse déterminés par des paramètres sociologiques), au modèle de ceux des autres groupes qu'il connaît et qui sont toujours incarnés dans des locuteurs sur lesquels il porte un jugement de valeur sociale, et enfin, par ailleurs, à la norme (syrienne !) de l'arabe standard. On voit que cette norme complexe ne peut, vu sa nature, qu'être en perpétuelle évolution. Il importe de souligner que les évolutions sont loin d'être irréversibles. Il n'est pas rare que tel ou tel lexème, par exemple, jugé pendant une période plus ou moins longue comme 'baladi' (et en conséquence évité par certains locuteurs dans certains contextes), car ayant vu son usage se cantonner progressivement à tel ou tel groupe de locuteurs, soit de ce fait, dans une étape ultérieure, considéré seulement comme 'ancien' ou vieilli puis voie son usage, pour une raison ou pour une autre, être réactivé, se répandre à nouveau et même devenir (redevenir ?) prestigieux, parfois parce que considéré comme … nouveau. Ce sont là des processus bien connus dans l'histoire des langues.

5. Quarante-sept variantes

Les variantes[15] qui vont être passées en revue ci-après[16] ont des statuts différents, en ce sens que si certaines sont parfaitement connues des locuteurs, d'autres échappent, parfois totalement, à leur

[15] N.B. Contrairement à un usage plus habituel, 'variante' sera employé ici le plus souvent pour désigner l'ensemble des formes (qu'elles diffèrent du point de vue de la prononciation, du lexique, de la morphonologie … ou sur deux ou trois de ces plans à la fois) recensées pour l'ensemble des locuteurs ; 'forme' désigne l'une des formes, précisément, que prend la 'variante'.

[16] Les variantes 1 à 47 ci-dessous correspondent respectivement aux variantes 3, 4, 5, 33, 6, 21, 24, 27, 39, 43, 1, 46, 42, 34, 30, 31, 11, 28, 29, 26, 18, 41, 44, 7, 8, 14, 40, 9, 15, 16, 22, 38, 12, 10, 19, 25, 17, 47, 37, 45, 20, 32, 23, 35, 36, 2 et 13 dans Lentin 1982a.

conscience linguistique. Par ailleurs, on pourra constater que figurent dans la liste quelques emprunts, récents ou anciens, à d'autres langues ou à d'autres dialectes. Nous n'avons pas considéré qu'il y avait là un problème, y voyant au contraire une possibilité supplémentaire de repérer les traces de phénomènes sociolinguistiques ailleurs moins visibles.

On trouvera pour chaque variante, avec plus ou moins de détails, un court résumé des résultats de l'enquête[17], parfois des appréciations des locuteurs et, quand cela nous a paru possible, la proposition également le plus souvent résumée d'une interprétation, souvent de type historique. Malgré leur formulation, les considérations sur la répartition par quartiers sont purement indicatives : le petit nombre d'enquêtés ne permet, dans le meilleur des cas, que de dégager ou plutôt de hasarder quelques tendances, et on ne trouvera certes pas ici un atlas linguistique de Damas, ni même son esquisse.

L'ordre de présentation est le suivant : variantes morphonologiques / lexicales (1 à 10), lexicales (11-23), de prononciation 1 (24 à 27), de prononciation 2 : *a* / *ə*, (28 à 32), morphonologie (33), morphologie : ajout de *-n* (34 à 36), morphologie de la négation (37-38), morphologie nominale (39-40), morphologie verbale (41-45), alternances entre formes verbales dérivées (46-47).

1. *ʾəxtyār* (*ʾəxtiyār*, *ʾəxᵊtyār*) / *xətyār* "vieillard, homme âgé"
La forme *ʾəxtyār* (17 inf.), plus proche du turc auquel le mot—vraisemblablement d'origine arabe—est emprunté, est la plus ancienne. Si on l'associe aux formes proches *ʾəxtiyār* et *ʾəxᵊtyār*, elle est dominante (*xətyār* est aussi chez 17 inf.). *xətyār* est sans doute une forme issue par aphérèse de *ʾəxᵊtiyār*, ou/et d'une réanalyse de *l-ʾəxtyār* en *l-ᵊxtyār* (cf. *l-ʾəwlād* ~ *lūlād* "les enfants" d'une part, *bnāni* < *ləbnāni* "libanais" d'autre part). Elle semble dominer dans les nouveaux quartiers,et s'introduire dans les anciens quartiers par le sud ouest et le sud de la vieille ville. La forme intermédiaire *ʾəxᵊtyār* est attestée à la frontière (ou non loin) entre les zones où prédominent l'une ou l'autre des deux formes principales.

[17] Les informateurs pouvant employer plusieurs formes pour la même variante, la somme des chiffres donnés pour chaque forme excède souvent le nombre total d'informateurs.

2. *fa/āṣūlya* (8 inf.), *fa/āṣūlye* (7 inf.), *fa/āṣūli/íye* (5 inf.), *fa/āṣūlíyye/fāṣuliyye* (21 inf.) "haricots (blancs)" sont les principales formes attestées (qui sont donc nombreuses) ; noter l'accentuation de *í* dans certaines. Une inf., qui a *fāṣulíye*, emploie une forme 'de contexte' (ou 'allegro')[18], avec *-a*, dans des syntagmes comme *fāṣulíya w rəzz* "du riz aux haricots" ; une autre, qui a *fāṣūlye*, emploie *faṣūlya* pour désigner non pas le légume mais un plat (cuisiné) de haricots. C'est là l'indice de l'ancienneté de cette forme, conservée ici comme une sorte de nom propre. Sa répartition semble le confirmer (elle est surtout représentée chez les C des quartiers traditionnels). La morphologie inhabituelle de la forme primitive de cet emprunt ancien (rapporté d'abord à un schème qui n'est utilisé que pour des pluriels) explique sa transformation progressive, dont on ne précisera pas ici le détail (avec sans doute réanalyse en *faṣūl* → *fāṣūl* et *-ya* → *-iyye*).

3. *baze/ēlla / bazālya* "petits pois"
Cet autre emprunt ancien a deux formes principales : *bazella* (18 inf.), *bazālya* (21 inf.) ; on a relevé aussi *bazēlya* (2 inf., dont 1 inf. juif), *bezēlya* (1 inf. chrétienne). Là encore, un inf., qui emploie *bazālya*, dit pouvoir employer *bazella* pour le plat cuisiné, ce qui pourrait suggérer qu'il s'agit là de la forme la plus ancienne. Tous les Chrétiens interrogés ont exclusivement *baze/ēlla*, que n'emploient que 4 inf. musulmans. On peut supposer une évolution *bazélla* → *bazālya*, avec des formes intermédiaires *bazēlya*, avec passage de *ll* à *ly* puis transformation de la séquence vocalique inhabituelle *a — ē* en *a — ā* (ou, dans la seconde forme intermédiaire *bezēlya*, en *e — ē*), ce qui dispense de recourir à l'emprunt parfois supposé au turc *pezelya*. La forme ancienne *baze/ēlla* est parfaitement préservée, et amorce peut-être une expansion (comme le suggère l'exemple des 3 inf. musulmans de Ṣālḥiyye qui ont aussi cette forme 'chrétienne').

4. *ṣōbya* (/ *ṣōb(y)e*), / *ṣōb(b)a* "poêle (à mazout)"
ṣōbya 32 inf. ; *ṣōba* 4 inf. ; *ṣōbba* 3 inf. La forme ancienne de cet emprunt roman, venu par le turc *soba*, est probablement *ṣōb(b)a* (peu conservée—un peu mieux peut-être dans la vieille ville –, et même ignorée de certains inf.).

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[18] Cf. Lentin 1982b.

5. *farāše / farrāše / fərrēše* "papillon"
farāše (22 inf.), *farrāše* (13 inf.) ; *fərrēše* (5 inf., tous chrétiens). *farrāše* est représenté en partie à ʾAṣṣāʿ, au Mīdān, dans la partie nord ouest de la vieille ville et dans les quartiers avoisinants, ainsi qu'à Ṣālḥiyye ; ailleurs on a *farāše*, sans doute plus récente.

6. *ʿəllēʾa / ʿallēʾa / ʿallāʾa / taʿlīʾa* "cintre (à vêtements)" (certains inf. utilisent *ʿallāʾa* pour "porte-manteau"). Certains utilisent *ʿallāʾet ʾawāʿi*, *taʿlīʾet ʾawāʿi / tyāb*.

ʿəllēʾa 12 inf. (on note un pluriel *ʿalāli*, à côté du plus usuel *ʿəllēʾāt*) ; *ʿallēʾa* 12 inf.;*ʿallāʾa* 6 inf. ; *taʿlīʾa* 7 inf. La répartition ne permet pas de décider que *ʿəllēʾa* serait une forme plus ancienne, ou un emprunt (libanais) ensuite 'damascénisé'.

7. *ḍōže / ḍažže* "bruit, vacarme"
La forme *ḍōže* semble unanimement jugée comme la 'plus dialectale' (et est la seule possible dans des locutions comme *walad ḍōže* "un enfant bruyant").

ḍōže 31 inf. ; *ḍažže* 16 inf. (dont 8 ont aussi *ḍōže*). La vieille ville montre une situation mélangée, avec dominance de *ḍažže* ; les quartiers plus récents au nord ouest voient se côtoyer les deux formes (presque tous les locuteurs ʾAṣṣāʿ les utilisent). Bāb əs-Srīže, ʾAnawāt et Sūʾ Sarūža ont presque exclusivement *ḍōže*.

8. *f/w/ʾarža* "faire voir, montrer (qqc à qqn)"

ʾarža seule 2 inf. ; *farža* seule 6 inf. ; *warža* seule 10 inf. ; *ʾarža* et *farža* 4 inf. ; *farža* et *warža* 5 inf. ; *ʾarža* et *warža* 3 inf. ; *ʾarža*, *farža* et *warža* 9 inf. Les trois formes sont à peu près également utilisées ; cependant *warža* domine, étant la plus utilisée aussi bien seule qu'en combinaison. La situation la plus mélangée s'observe dans les quartiers récents, *farža* semble dominer à Ṣālḥiyye, *warža* à ʾAnawāt, et ces deux formes se partager Sūʾ Sarūža (situé entre ces deux quartiers) ; *ʾarža* semble dominer au Mīdān.

9. *ʾaw(wa)lāni, ʾawwali* etc. "premier"
Sauf dans la construction particulière : ordinal + pronom indéfini / nom (*ʾawwal wāḥed* "le premier", *ʾawwal yōm* "le premier jour") où seul *ʾawwal* est possible, les usages diffèrent sensiblement d'un informateur à l'autre. On peut cependant observer les tendances suivantes:

"le premier (d'une série)" : *l-ʾawwalāni* (majoritaire) et *l-ʾawwal* ; "le premier (en classe)" *: l-ʾawwali* 5 inf., *l-ʾawwal* 3 inf. (et deux autres ont *ʾawle* au fém.), l'une ou l'autre de ces deux formes (2 inf.) ou encore *ʾawlāni* ; mais tous les informateurs utilisent dans ce sens une forme différente de celle qu'ils utilisent pour "(le) premier d'une série".

ʾawlāni est employé par 9 inf., *ʾawwalāni* par 24 inf. Pour le féminin de ce dernier on note, outre *ʾawlāniyye* et*ʾawwalāniyye* : *ʾūlāniyye*, *ʾawalāniyye* et l'emprunt au standard *ʾūla*. Il y a des croisements entre les paires de formes pour les emplois au masculin et au féminin. On peut envisager l'existence, à époque ancienne de deux systèmes différents : a) *ʾawwal* (fém. *ʾawle*) "premier d'une série" / *ʾawwali* "premier de la classe (etc.)" ; b) *ʾawlāni* (fém. *ʾawlāniyye*) "premier d'une série" / *ʾawwal* "premier de la classe (etc.)". Les locuteurs ayant le système b) auraient emprunté la forme à suffixe *-āni*, d'abord peut-être au fém. *ʾawlāni* serait ainsi plus ancien que *ʾawwalāni* (et serait préservé en partie par les Chrétiens).

Le féminin*ʾawle* (relevé par exemple par Lecerf)[19] est encore attesté pour quelques informateurs, mais vestigiel ; on en trouve par ailleurs une trace dans (18) *ʾawletəmbāreḥ*.

10. *b/mnōb*

Cet adverbe signifie "complètement, tout à fait" en absence de négation dans l'énoncé, et "(pas) du tout" en énoncé négatif. Employé seul, il prend l'une ou l'autre de ces deux valeurs suivant le contexte.

Les deux formes (*mnōb* et *bnōb*) sont à peu près également représentées (*bnōb* un peu plus) ; plusieurs inf. ont les deux.

La répartition par quartiers pourrait suggérer que la forme avec *m* est plus ancienne (on la rencontre plus dans la vieille ville, moins dans les quartiers récents ; elle est également moins présente chez les jeunes). Bergsträsser 1924 a *mnōb* (p. 64,11 ; 86,8 ; 90,21 ; 102,37), comme Kassab 1970 (p. 42). Si l'hypothèse de Bergsträsser 1915 est exacte, on assisterait alors au retour de la forme 'originelle'.[20]

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[19] Dans des questionnaires linguistiques ronéotés, remplis à la fin des années 1930, qu'avait bien voulu me confier Jean Lecerf peu avant sa mort.

[20] Bergsträsser 1915 avait inclus cette variante dans son atlas (§ 80 et carte 33, planche LIII). La forme (bédouine) *bnaub* serait la forme originelle ; *b(a)nōb* était courant à proximité de Damas, qui se trouvait dans la zone *mnōb* (*mnawb*).

11. "nez"
mənxār (15 inf.), *məŋxār* (2 inf.), *məxxār* (7 inf.), *muxxār* (8 inf.), *maxxār* (3 inf.), *manaxīr* (11 inf., dont une seule C) ; *ʾanᵊf*, *ʾamf*, *ʾənᵊf* (et *ʾanāf*, 1 inf.).

mənxār est la forme la plus commune et ne caractérise aucun groupe ; *manaxīr* et *məxxār* sont 'plus dialectales', et paraissent vieillies à certains. *muxxār* pourrait être une forme 'musulmane' et des anciens quartiers de la partie ouest des anciens quartiers, [u] pouvant être la trace de la forme avec [ŋ] (< [n]). *ʾanᵊf* est la forme la plus relevée (encore jugée prétentieuse par certains de ceux qui ne l'emploient pas), *ʾənᵊf* la forme en voie d'installation. C'est bien sûr un emprunt au standard ; mais comme il n'est pas nouveau (*ʾənᵊf* est donné par Cantineau & Helbaoui 1953), il pourrait s'agir d'une 'reclassicisation', avec donc, diachroniquement, *a* → *ə* → *a*.

12. *ʾīd* / *maske* /*massāke* / *ṭōba* / *ṭōbe* "poignée de porte"
ʾīd : 21 inf. (8 exclusivement, 13 en combinaison) ; *maske* 17 inf. (5 exclusivement, 12 en combinaison) ; *massāke* 4 inf. (1 exclusivement, 3 en combinaison) ; *ṭōba* 10 inf. (5 exclusivement, 5 en combinaison) ; *ṭōbe* 9 inf. (3 exclusivement, 6 en combinaison) ; 2 informatrices chrétiennes emploient également (en combinaison) *ṭābe* (par ailleurs "balle").

ʾīd est présent partout sauf au Mīdān (et dans une petite zone au nord de ce quartier, qui a *ṭōba/e*) ; *maske* est peu ou pas représenté à Ṣālḥiyye, Sūʾ Sarūža, ʾAnawāt et, plus au sud, au Mīdān. Si on retrouve l'ensemble des formes dans les nouveaux quartiers, on peut distinguer une bande nord, d'ouest en est, avec *ʾīd* ; une zone du sud à l'est avec *maske*, les deux se recouvrant dans la vieille ville et à ʾAṣṣāʿ.

13. *ʾbāl*, *bəʾbāl*, *mnəʾbāl*, *məʾbāl*, *mʾābel*, *m(a)ʾā/abīl*, *mwāžeh*, *ʾəddām* "en face de, face à". Plus marginales sont les formes *maʾābl-* (à l'état construit ; de **maʾābel*) et son 'pluriel' *mʾāblīn*, et *maʾābīl*.

ʾbāl 6 inf., *bəʾbāl* 2 inf., *m(n)əʾbāl* 2 inf., *mʾābel* 15 inf., *m(a)ʾā/abīl* 22 inf., *mwāžeh* 15 inf., *ʾəddām* 4 inf. Beaucoup d'informateurs emploient plusieurs formes ; les combinaisons le mieux représentées sont *mʾābel* et *maʾā/abīl* (4 inf.) *mʾābel, maʾā/abīl* et *mwāžeh* (4 inf.), *(mə)ʾbāl* et *mwāžeh* (3 inf.). *ʾəddām* n'est combiné qu'avec *mʾābel* et/ou *maʾā/abīl*. *mwāžeh* et *ʾəddām* s'excluent mutuellement (sauf pour un inf.).

Il est permis de penser que *ʾbāl* est la forme ancienne ; elle peut être étoffée par *b-* ou *mən*. On la trouve dans la vieille ville (et sporadiquement ailleurs dans les quartiers populaires). Plus récente est *mʾābel* ; elle se concentre à l'ouest de la vieille ville. En dérive probablement son 'pluriel' *m(a)ʾā/abīl*, présent partout mais essentiellement à ʾAṣṣāʿ et dans les quartiers neufs. Seule, c'est la forme la plus utilisée ; on a vu aussi qu'elle se combine avec *mʾābel* précisément dans le quartier où cette dernière domine. Déjà dominant, son usage se répand. *mwāžeh* est sans doute aussi en expansion. Enfin l'emploi de *ʾəddām* avec le sens de "en face de" est vraisemblablement influencé par l'arabe standard ; sa valeur principale à Damas est en effet, comme dans beaucoup de dialectes arabes, "à côté, dans le proche voisinage de, que l'on voit depuis" (ceci pouvant inclure "en face de"). Vu qu'ils représentent la moitié des informateurs qui l'utilisent, les Chrétiens pourraient avoir été les vecteurs privilégiés de l'innovation *m(a)ʾā/abīl*.

14. *hadənk* / *hado/ōlīk* "ceux-là, celles-là"
ha/ādənk, (aussi *hadənke et hadənken*) est la forme la plus répandue ; certains locuteurs ont également, ou uniquement, *hadolīk* (forme étrangère à certains de ceux qui n'utilisent que *ha/ādənk*).[21] Sur 42 inf., 22 utilisent *hadənk* (etc.) exclusivement, 13 *hadənk* et *hado/ōlīk*, 4 *hado/ōlīk* exclusivement. Du 1er au 3ème de ces trois groupes, le pourcentage de Chrétiens est croissant ; sur les 4 inf. n'utilisant que *hado/ōlīk*, 2 sont C (on peut ajouter le témoignage de Kassab 1970, p. 32—qui transcrit *hadūlīk*) et 2 sont J. Il ne faut pas en conclure que cette forme est uniquement 'chrétienne et juive'. Il y a d'ailleurs 4 informateurs C qui ont les deux formes, et 6 (dont des inf. de ʾAṣṣāʿ et de Bāb Tūma) qui ont seulement *hadənk*. Le témoignage de Cantineau & Helbaoui 1953, qui ont également *hadōlīk*, invite plutôt à considérer que *hado/ōlīk* est une forme 'de la vieille ville', peut-être davantage chrétienne. La répartition semble indiquer une zone où elle n'est pas ou peu représentée (Mīdān, Bāb əs-Srīže, Sūʾ Sarūža et ṣ-Ṣālḥiyye). Mais il est difficile de savoir si elle est ancienne, ou d'importation—c'est le sentiment de certains informateurs—plus ou moins récente, et de déterminer si elle est en expansion.

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[21] Nous n'avons pas rencontré la forme ***həndənk*** (Ferguson 1954, p. 570 et Cowell 1964, p. 552) ; cf. déjà Grotzfeld 1964, p. 45.

15. *msažžle* / *msažžel* "magnétophone"
msažžle 32 inf. (1 a *musažžle*) ; *msažžel* 3 inf. Dans le premier groupe, 5 (et dans le deuxième groupe 1) ont aussi *ʾālet tasžīl* ; 1 inf. (du premier groupe) a *makanet tasžīl*.

D'abord sans doute désigné par *musažžel* → *msažžel* (cf. Kassab 1970, p. 327 et 330), *ʾālet tasžīl* (cf. Stowasser & Ani 1964 p. 235, s.v. *tape*) et aussi *makanet tasžīl* (cf. Barbot 1964, p. 1998 qui donne ces deux dernières formes), le magnétophone a maintenant pour désignation courante *msažžle*. Ce mot est néanmoins forgé à partir du standard, comme en témoigne la gémination souvent audible du *ž* (dans une position où normalement elle ne l'est pas), et le schème lui-même, peu utilisé pour les noms d'instrument[22] (Cowell 1964, p. 306-307 ne le cite pas).

16. *ḍawwaʿ* / *ḍayyaʿ* "perdre, égarer (qqc)"
ḍawwaʿ 13 inf. ; *ḍawwaʿ* et *ḍayyaʿ* 16 inf. ; *ḍayyaʿ* 11 inf. Les deux formes sont également employées, même si la première semble être considérée comme plus dialectale, et est à ce titre parfois moquée. Les informateurs font état de différences d'emploi, réelles ou supposées : *ḍawwaʿ* serait utilisé plutôt avec un complément d'objet pronominalisé, *ḍayyaʿ* avec un complément nominal ; la personne employée jouerait un rôle, ainsi que la nature du référent du complément : *ḍawwaʿt waʾti* "j'ai perdu mon temps" mais *ḍayyaʿt žəzdāni* "j'ai perdu mon porte-monnaie". Peut-être faut-il en déduire que l'emploi de *ḍawwaʿ* permet de focaliser sur le sujet, et *ḍayyaʿ* sur l'objet ou le résultat de l'action.

17. *mal(y)ān*, *tal(y)ān* "plein, rempli"
N.B. L'étymologie de *tal(y)ān* est claire : la VIII^e^ forme *mtala* a été réanalysée comme VII^e^ forme d'une racine TLY (d'où *talyān*—ainsi que le verbe *talla* "remplir"—*talān* ayant été formé sans doute par analogie à *malān*).[23]

malān seule 9 inf., en combinaison 4 inf. ; *malyān* seule 12 inf., en combinaison 9 inf. ; *talān* en combinaison 5 inf. ; *talyān* seule 3 inf., en combinaison 9 inf.

[22] Un autre exemple est *mnabbeh* "réveil".
[23] Comme beaucoup des variantes étudiées ici, celle-ci se retrouve fréquemment dans la région ; cf. Cadora 1979, p. 84.

talān et *talyān* sont plus marquées comme dialectales. Une majorité d'informateurs n'emploie qu'une seule forme (surtout *malyān*) ; toutes les combinaisons de deux formes sont possibles, mais ce sont celles avec *malyān* et *talyān* qui sont le plus attestées. *malān* n'est pas attesté au sud de la vieille ville. Ceci, joint au fait que les locuteurs plus âgés interrogés emploient aussi plutôt cette forme (qu'on trouve également dans les sources anciennes) suggère qu'il s'agit d'une forme plus ancienne que les autres.

Du point de vue sémantique, un groupe d'informateurs semble opposer *malān* "plein, rempli" (par opposition à "vide") à *malyān* "plein, rempli d'objets" ; un autre oppose deux formes (pas toujours les mêmes) en fonction de la taille de l'objet décrit comme plein. Ces deux types de distinctions, et d'autres encore qu'on croit apercevoir, suggèrent qu'on a une hiérarchie *malān—malyān—tal(y)ān*, du moins marqué au plus marqué (particularisé sémantiquement), ce qui pourrait d'ailleurs confirmer que *malān* serait la forme la plus ancienne, sur laquelle viendrait empiéter *malyān* (qui l'a déjà éliminée pour un groupe de locuteurs) ; *tal(y)ān* pourrait être le prochain candidat à l'hégémonie, bien qu'elle soit pour certains encore, on l'a dit, marquée comme très (trop) dialectale, ou pittoresque. On aurait alors un exemple de perception retardée ou d'une mauvaise interprétation d'un processus déjà en cours (la référence implicite au standard *malʾān* étant néanmoins susceptible de le contrarier).

18. *ʾawwal(t)əmbāreḥ* "avant-hier"
Ce sont là les formes principales ; on a aussi *ʾawwal(t)əmbáreḥ* et*ʾawwal(t)əmbárḥa* (avec *a* bref mais accentué), *ʾawwaltə́mbāreḥ* (avec accent principal sur ə)[24], *ʾawwantəmbāreḥ* (avec *n*) ; un inf. juif a *ʾawletəmbāreḥ* (pour *ʾawle*, cf. variante 9). On peut supposer dans cette dernière forme, comme dans l'accentuation d'une autre : *ʾawwáltmbāreḥ*, la trace de la constitution de cet adverbe, à partir d'un état construit (ou d'une construction analogue).

Sur 39 informateurs, 5 ont *ʾawwaləmbāreḥ*, 23 *ʾawwaltəmbāreḥ* et 11 les deux formes. On peut raisonnablement supposer l'existence ancienne de deux formes distinctes.

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[24] Cantineau & Helbaoui 1953 ont *ʾawwal mbāreḥ* (sans voyelle épenthétique).

19. *ləssaʿta* (etc.) "elle[25] est encore …"
Les différentes formes possibles sont : *ləssāʿᵊt(h)a*, *ləssaʿt(h)a*, *ləssāta*, *ləssāha*.[26]

Forme avec -*āʿt*- : 18 inf. ; avec -*aʿt*- : 17 inf. ; avec -*āt*-1 : 5 inf. ; avec -*ā*- : 12 inf.

Les deux formes avec préservation du ʿ (de **sāʿa*) sont encore bien vivantes, et même, ensemble, majoritaires. Sur les 12 informateurs qui ont la forme avec -*ā*-, 10 sont chrétiens (mais d'autres ont des formes avec ʿ).

20. *raḥ*, *raḥa*, *laḥ*, *laḥa*, *rāyeḥ*, *ḥa* (particules du futur)
raḥ seul 10 inf., en combinaison 10 inf. ; *raḥa* seul 1 inf., en combinaison 6 inf. ; *laḥa* seul 6 inf., en combinaison 1 inf. ; *laḥ* seul 3 inf., en combinaison 1 inf. ; *ḥa* en combinaison 8 inf. ; *rāyeḥ* seul 2 inf., en combinaison 8 inf.

raḥ domine (20 inf. sur 37 l'utilisent) ; aucun informateur n'utilise exclusivement *ḥa*, qui par ailleurs semble être plus utilisé suivi d'un verbe à la 1ᵉ pers. (sing. ou plur.) ; aucun informateur n'utilise à la fois *raḥ(a)* et *laḥ(a)* ; *rāyeḥ*[27] joue un rôle important (c'est la deuxième forme la plus employée après *raḥ*. Le fait qu'elle ne soit citée par aucun informateur chrétien est sans doute un hasard de l'enquête (on en a des attestations dans Bergsträsser 1924, par ex. 95,22 ; 100,17). Pourtant, cette forme est peu représentée dans la vieille ville et à Ṣālḥiyye ; peut-être a-t-elle connu une vogue (des années vingt aux années 50 ?) au siècle dernier, sans s'implanter durablement dans certaines zones, mais en conquérant de nouvelles.

21. *h(o)nīk(e)* "là-bas" (la forme *honīk(e)* est parfois réalisée *hunīk(e)* et *hənīk(e)*).[28]

hnīk(e) 21 inf. ; *honīk* 12 inf. ; *hu̥nīk* 5 inf. ; *henīk* 1 inf. ; *hənīk(e)* 2 inf.

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[25] La 3ᵉ pers. fém. sing. a été choisie à cause du pronom -*(h)a*. Mais l'essentiel des faits se retrouverait à toute autre personne.

[26] Dans toutes ces formes, le *ə* est souvent réalisé [i].

[27] Qui peut être invariable, ou fonctionner comme auxiliaire et s'accorder alors en genre et en nombre avec le sujet du verbe auxilié. Par ailleurs, pour Jean Lecerf (voir n. 19 ci-dessus), *rāyeḥ* était 'emprunté au beyrouthin'. Mais des attestations anciennes, comme déjà dans Callenberg (XVIIIᵉ s.), permettent d'en douter.

[28] Cette variante est aussi régionale (cf. Cadora 1979, p. 102).

Tous les informateurs qui ont une forme *honīk(e)*, seule ou alternant avec *hnīk(e)* sont chrétiens ou juifs. On peut penser (comme l'exemple de deux enfants musulmans d'une dizaine d'années semble bien le confirmer) à un processus d'extension de la forme 'chrétienne et juive', avec modification de sa distribution et de ses connotations sociolinguistiques ; mais le processus semble moins avancé que pour *māni* (v. plus de détails plus loin, variante 37 *māli* / *māni*). Il est de ce point de vue particulièrement intéressant de noter que la quasi totalité des informateurs qui présentent des formes intermédiaires (du point de vue de la valeur de la première syllabe), sont des Chrétiens : non seulement ils ne sont pas actifs dans le processus d'expansion de la forme 'chrétienne', mais ils accommodent celle-ci à la forme 'musulmane'.

22. *(b)xāṭrak* (formule pour prendre congé)
La forme sans *b*- est sans doute la plus ancienne (cf. Callenberg 1729 1^{e} partie, p. 2,-3) et la plus damascène. Mais sur les 14 utilisateurs de la forme avec *b*-, 8 sont chrétiens, et les autres sont originaires du Mīdān, de la vieille ville, de Šāġūr, Bāb əs-Srīže et Sūʾ Sarūža, c'est-à-dire du groupe de quartiers dont d'autres variantes montrent qu'ils sont susceptibles d'avoir conservé des formes anciennes. Il peut s'agir aussi d'une innovation récente (comme pourraient le suggérer des réactions contrastées à la forme sans *b*-, jugée 'plus amicale' par un inf. (C) mais 'moins respectueuse' par un autre (M). On pourrait penser dans ce cas au renforcement expressif d'une expression quotidienne, et peut-être en même temps à un emprunt, à des dialectes libanais par exemple, par l'intermédiaire de Chrétiens. *b*- apparaît en tout cas comme la forme marquée (bien qu'elle soit très vraisemblablement la forme étymologique).

23. *dəlᵊᶜ* "qui manque de sucre / fade / douceâtre / ..."
Cette variante (signalée par Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964, p. 134 n. 3, et connue de plusieurs informateurs) est particulièrement intéressante, en ce qu'elle pourrait témoigner d'une période où cet adjectif avait des sens différents suivant les communautés. Comme il s'emploie en particulier pour qualifier le café (*ʾahwe dəlᶜa*), c'est sur le sens de *dəlᵊᶜ* dans ce syntagme que les informateurs ont été interrogés. Leurs réponses peuvent se résumer ainsi : "peu ou pas sucré" (13 inf.) ; "qui manque de sucre" (5 inf.) ; "fade" (1 inf.), "sans sel ni sucre" (3 inf.), "qui manque de sel" (1 inf.) ; "très sucré, douceâtre, trop sucré"

(7 inf.) ; "(trop) léger et sucré" (3 inf.) ; mais aussi, significativement : "pas assez, ou trop, sucré" (2 inf.)

On voit que—à l'échelle de la communauté entière des locuteurs—les valeurs attachées à *dəlᵊᶜ* se répartissent sur deux des zones d'un continuum allant du 'très sucré' (entre 'trop sucré' et 'proche du sucré') au 'ni sucré ni salé' (entre 'proche du non sucré ou du non salé' et 'pas assez sucré (et donc fade ou écoeurant)', qui ont en commun d'être connotées par le 'désagréable' (la zone du non désagréable, située entre ces deux zones, n'étant pas concernée). Pour la plupart des informateurs, *dəlᵊᶜ* ne réfère qu'à une seule des deux zones, en un de ses points précis. Pour quelques autres, il réfère aux deux points extrêmes, ou aux deux (sans doute en raison de leur histoire linguistique personnelle, cumulant une valeur apprise et une valeur acquise). Enfin, on remarque que sur les 7 informateurs qui ont la valeur 'très sucré, douceâtre, trop sucré', on compte 5 Chrétiens et un Juif.

24. Prononciation plus ou moins 'emphatique' de *nahᵊr* "fleuve"
Les faits sont complexes et ne peuvent être détaillés ici ; l'emphase varie selon les locuteurs, et n'affecte pas toujours également tous les segments du mot. En distinguant grossièrement cinq prononciations, les informateurs se répartissent ainsi : sans emphase 3 inf. ; peu emphatique 10 inf. ; assez emphatique 12 inf. ; emphatique 10 inf. ; très emphatique 1 inf.

Les femmes emphatisent un peu plus que les hommes ; les Chrétiens emphatisent moins que les Musulmans ; ces deux tendances se cumulent : 4 sur 6 des femmes musulmanes interrogées ont la prononciation 'emphatique'. Le nombre d'informateurs est évidemment trop restreint pour que ces chiffres puissent être considérés comme vraiment significatifs ; v. cependant d'autres conclusions à la variante suivante (25 *nār*).

25. Prononciation plus ou moins 'emphatique' de *nār* "feu"
Contrairement au précédent, ce mot n'est jamais (à une exception près) prononcé sans aucune emphase.

Si on distingue, comme pour la variante précédente, cinq prononciations de base, mais en ajoutant trois prononciations intermédiaires, les informateurs se répartissent ainsi : sans emphase 1 inf. ; très peu emphatique 1 inf. ; peu emphatique 4 inf. ; entre peu et assez emphatique 7 inf. ; assez emphatique 13 inf. ; entre assez emphatique

et emphatique 9 inf. ; emphatique 17 inf. ; entre emphatique et très emphatique 4 inf. ; très emphatique 1 inf.

Les femmes emphatisent un peu plus que les hommes ; les Chrétiens emphatisent plus que les Musulmans ; ces deux tendances se cumulent (4 des 5 inf. qui emphatisent le plus sont des femmes chrétiennes).

Si on compare maintenant ces données à celles concernant la variante précédente, on constate que si, pour les prononciations ‘sans emphase’ et ‘peu emphatique’, un groupe d’informateurs (exclusivement des Musulmans) se comporte de la même façon pour *nahᵊr* et *nār*, un autre (constitué de Chrétiens, et d’un Juif) emphatise beaucoup plus *nār*. Par ailleurs, un petit groupe d’informateurs de quartiers proches (Ṣālḥiyye et Sūʾ Sarūža) se caractérise par le phénomène inverse (ils emphatisent *nahᵊr* plus que *nār*). Les autres groupes d’informateurs emphatisent *nahᵊr* au même degré que *nār* : emphatisation forte (informateurs de Bāb əs-Srīže, š-Šāġūr, ʿAmāra, Sūʾ Sarūža [surtout les femmes], de la vieille ville ; emphase moyenne chez les hommes et forte chez les femmes (Mīdān) ; emphatisation faible (Sūʾ Sarūža [les hommes] et des quartiers relativement récents dans la zone nord ouest). Le schéma suivant apparaît ainsi assez nettement:

– emphase maximale : quartiers centraux, traditionnels
– emphase moyenne : à la périphérie de ces quartiers.

Le cas de nhār *: une confirmation*

Un test sur la prononciation de *nhār* “jour, journée” (et sur celle de *nār*) auprès d’un petit nombre d’informateurs (24) a donné des résultats comparables à ceux obtenus pour la variante 24 *nahᵊr* : sans emphase 1 inf. ; très peu emphatique 2 inf. ; peu emphatique 8 inf. ; entre peu et assez emphatique 1 inf. ; assez emphatique 9 inf. ; emphatique 4 inf. ; même contraste entre la prononciation de *nhār* et celle de *nār* (qu’entre *nahᵊr* et *nār*) ; réalisations peu ou pas emphatiques des Chrétiens ; tendance des femmes à emphatiser.

26. Prononciation plus ou moins ‘emphatique’ de *bərdʾān* “oranges”

Les réalisations phonétiques varient entre [bərdʾǟn] et [bərḍʾʌn]. Les réalisations ‘emphatiques’ sont jugées, par les informateurs, particulières aux Chrétiens, ou, quand ils les ignorent (ne les ont jamais remarquées), sont qualifiées d’‘alépines’.

L'"emphase' se réalise toujours essentiellement par la 'couleur' du *ā* (1 inf. réalisant en outre le *ə* [u]).

37 informateurs ont été interrogés, et 22 autres (dont 5 des 37) spécifiquement 'testés' sur leur prononciation de ce mot (soit au total 54 inf.). Pour les 22 inf. du 2e groupe, les enregistrements ont été soigneusement écoutés, à de très nombreuses reprises[29], et 12 réalisations phonétiques du mot ont été distinguées, en fonction du timbre de ses deux voyelles (*ə* et *a*). Les résultats confirment absolument le sentiment des locuteurs : les réalisations (les plus) emphatiques sont très nettement celles des Chrétiens, qui en ont tous une.[30] Le seul informateur juif interrogé sur cette variante ne présente pas non plus de réalisation emphatique, ce qui est bien sûr insuffisant pour faire l'hypothèse que, sur ce point, les locuteurs juifs et chrétiens se distingueraient.

En ce qui concerne les informateurs musulmans, ceux des quartiers récents emphatisent plutôt moins, ceux de la vieille ville moyennement, ceux du Mīdān relativement plus, et ceux de Šāġūr ont les réalisations les plus emphatiques.

27. Prononciation de *ṣ/səfᵊr* "zéro"

Le mot *ṣəfᵊr* est parfois prononcé avec *s* ; cette prononciation est souvent considérée comme 'chrétienne', et parfois comme marquant la volonté d'"imiter les Européens'. L'enquête montre qu'elle est bien 'chrétienne', au sens où la quasi totalité des informateurs qui ont une réalisation avec [s], ou un *ṣ* très peu emphatique, sont chrétiens. mais des informateurs musulmans (du Mīdān, de Šāġūr et de Mhāžrīn) présentent aussi des réalisations peu emphatiques. Il pourrait donc s'agir d'une prononciation ancienne[31], conservée en effet partiellement par les Chrétiens, mais aussi dans les milieux populaires.

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[29] Ce qui ne saurait évidemment remplacer une analyse instrumentale, qui n'a pu être faite.

[30] Sauf un, du Mīdān, dont on peut penser, compte tenu de bien des faits le concernant dégagés au cours de l'enquête sur les autres variantes, qu'il cherche à se démarquer de façon générale de la prononciation de ce quartier.

[31] Elle est attestée ailleurs dans la région, par exemple à Alep (Barthélemy 1935-1969, p. 344) ou en Palestine (Elihai 1973, p. 414).

28. *nəḥna* / *naḥna* etc. “nous” (pron. 1e pers. plur.)
A *nəḥna* (9 inf. dont 3 C et 2 F), B *nə/äḥna* (10 inf. dont 4 C et 4 F), C *näḥna* (14 inf. dont 3 C et 8 F), D *nä/aḥna* (6 inf. dont 3 F), E *naḥna* (19 inf. dont 4 C et 3 F), F *ləḥna* (3 inf. dont 1 J).

Les Chrétiens sont le plus représentés dans le groupe B, sont présents dans les groupes A et C, peu dans le groupe E. Les femmes sont nombreuses dans le groupe C, bien représentées dans les groupes B et D, peu dans les groupes (‘extrêmes’) A et E.

La forme A est représentée à Bāb Tūma, au nord ouest de la vieille ville et à Ṣālḥiyye et dans les quartiers avoisinants, pas du tout à ʾAṣṣāʿ ni au Mīdān (à une exception près). On peut associer à ce groupe les trois informateurs qui ont la forme F *ləḥna*.

La forme E est représentée à ʾAṣṣāʿ, dans les quartiers récents au nord ouest de la vieille ville jusqu’à Mhāžrīn, et au centre et au sud ouest de la vieille ville (là où il n’y a pas A).

La forme C est représentée surtout à ʾAṣṣāʿ et au Mīdān (quartiers qui relèvent plutôt de la zone de la forme E).

L’impression se dégage que *nəḥna* et *naḥna* sont deux prononciations anciennes concurrentes, la première dans certains quartiers traditionnels, la seconde dans d’autres quartiers tout aussi traditionnels.[32]

Certains faits pourraient plaider pour une plus grande ancienneté de la forme A à Damas : elle est représentée à Bāb Tūma, ne l’est ni au Mīdān ni à ʾAṣṣāʿ, les deux informateurs juifs ont l’un A et l’autre F (avec ə), cette forme F n’a pas de correspondant **laḥna* ; enfin, aussi bien autour de Damas que dans les autres grandes villes de la région[33], on a des formes avec ə (ou *i*).

Cependant, la forme E *naḥna* est bien attestée dans plusieurs sources, depuis la fin du 19e s. jusqu’aux années 1950 ; peut-être est-elle seulement plus populaire (pas de formes A au Mīdān, par exemple).

On reviendra, à propos de plusieurs des variantes suivantes, et encore au § 7, sur les rapports entre *a* et ə, et sur l’existence éventuelle de deux systèmes d’harmonie vocalique différents. Il convient en tout cas de remarquer que les informateurs qui ont *naḥna* sont,

[32] Oestrup 1897 transcrit *niḥna/ā* dans les textes de son informateur principal (musulman) mais *naḥna* dans le texte de son informateur chrétien (p. 118, ligne 8 du bas).

[33] Cf. Cadora 1979, p. 105.

à peu de chose près, les mêmes que ceux qui ont *laʾanno* (variante 32).[34]

N.B. La forme *nə/aḥᵊn* semble avoir disparu. Un informateur né au Mīdān peu avant la deuxième guerre mondiale signale *naḥən* à ʾAdam (sud de ce quartier) ; Abadi (1999, p. 119) rapporte *nahan* dans la bouche d'une Chrétienne vers 1920.

Nous n'avons rencontré à Damas ni *ʾəḥna* (dont l'existence, réelle ou supposée, est signalée par plusieurs informateurs), ni *ḥənna* (signalé par Lemée 1938, et par Wetzstein 1857—mais vraisemblablement pour certains villages de la Ġūṭa, où nous l'avons précisément entendu, à Zəbdīn).

29. C_1*ə/a*C_2C_3*ān*

La réalisation C_1*ə*C_2C_3*ān* du schème (d'adjectif, de pseudo-participe) C_1*a*C_2C_3*ān* est un peu particulière : non signalée dans la littérature[35], elle n'est pas non plus, en général, reconnue par les informateurs (qui la jugent le plus souvent 'libanaise'). C'est sans doute parce qu'elle relève d'un phénomène plus général, la tendance à la centralisation de *a* (v. § 7) ; elle est en outre sans doute conditionnée, au moins partiellement, par la nature de la première consonne. Il nous a cependant semblé qu'il s'agit là d'une 'vraie' variante ; il n'est d'ailleurs pas indifférent de remarquer que la forme C_1*ə*C_2C_3*ān* est attestée dans plusieurs dialectes de la région.

25 inf. ont toujours C_1*a*C_2C_3*ān*. Mais on relève, chez 10 autres, l'une ou l'autre des réalisations suivantes : *nəsyān* "qui a oublié", *hərbān* "qui s'est enfui, en fuite", *məlyān* "rempli, plein", *šərbān* "qui a (déjà) bu", *ṣəfyān* "qui est resté, qui s'est retrouvé" avec un [ə] franc, ou : *ra/əfʿān* "qui a minci", *ša/ərbān*, *ha/ərbān*, *na/əsyān* "qui a oublié", avec une première voyelle intermédiaire, notée ici par convention *a/ə*. Une informatrice chrétienne de Bāb Tūma remarquait même que la prononciation [bərdʾā̰ne] ("une orange", cf. variante 26) permettait d'éviter la confusion avec *bərdāne* "qui [fém.] a froid".[36]

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[34] De même, plusieurs informateurs qui ont *naḥna* ont aussi, occasionnellement, *badd-o* (pour *bədd-o* "vouloir").

[35] Ou même niée : ainsi Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964, p. 198 ligne 20 et n. 5, jugent que *žəryāne* n'est pas du vrai ('echt') damascène. On notera cependant *nisyān* (Dietrich 1956, n° 37).

[36] Ne tenant donc pas compte de la présence de ʾ.

Sur les 10 informateurs présentant une ou des réalisations $C_1əC_2C_3ān$, 5 sont de Sūʾ Sarūža (ou en sont originaires), 2 de ʾAṣṣāʿet 3 de l'est de la vieille ville (2 de Bāb Tūma, 1 du quartier juif).[37]

30. $ta/əC_1C_2īC_3$

Comme pour la variante précédente, il s'agit d'une alternance *a* / *ə* pour la première voyelle (non accentuée et suivie de deux consonnes) d'un schème nominal, ici celui du nom d'action de la IIe forme verbale dérivée. La majorité des informateurs (musulmans comme chrétiens) a la forme avec *a*, mais un petit nombre—tous des Chrétiens—a des formes en *ə*, comme *təšrīf* "hommage", *tətxīte* "petit réduit aménagé au-dessus de la cuisine ou de la salle de bains", *tərtīb* "organisation". Bergsträsser 1924 note $tiC_1C_2īC_3$ (par ex. 57,18 ; 84,1 ; 96,5 ; 101,25), qui doit être interprété comme $təC_1C_2īC_3$ (cf. *ibid.* partie phonétique, p. 14-15). Kassab 1970 donne *təṣlīḥ* "réparation", *təbdīl* "échange, remplacement" (p. 72), mais *tabdīl* (p. 77), *təʾlīd* "imitation" (p. 222) et, significativement, *təʿlīm* ou *taʿlīm* "enseignement" (p. 212), et *taʿrīb* "traduction en arabe" (p. 300) pour un emprunt caractérisé au standard.

Grotzfeld 1964, p. 29 bas et p. 80, considère que $^*taC_1C_2īC_3$ était passé à $^*tiC_1C_2īC_3$ dans le dialecte de Damas, et que cette forme a été conservée uniquement par les Chrétiens ; les Musulmans auraient 'restitué' $taC_1C_2īC_3$. Bien que seuls des informateurs chrétiens présentent en effet des exemples de la forme avec *ə* (l'un d'eux explique qu'il l'emploie pour les mots 'bien dialectaux'), l'hypothèse demanderait à être étayée. Des exemples comme *Tūfīʾ* (le prénom 'Tewfiq') pourraient suggérer un ancien passage **əw* > *ū*, mais il semble exister (*ibid.* p. 24 § 29) des exemples de **aw* > *ū* (et non *ō*). Il n'en est pas moins très probable que la référence au schème standard $taC_1C_2īC_3$ de nombreux emprunts a joué et joue un rôle dans ce que Grotzfeld appelle la 'restitution' de cette forme.

31. *ma/əskīn* et *ʿa/əzzābi* "célibataire"

Sont regroupés ici deux autres exemples de nominaux avec alternance *a* / *ə* pour la première voyelle (non accentuée et suivie de deux consonnes), dans le but de voir si la distribution des formes est semblable ou différente pour les deux mots.

[37] Ce quartier a porté différents noms au cours de l'histoire ; aujourd'hui il est couramment appelé (ḥayy) əl-ʾAmīn.

44 inf. sur 54 (dont 17 F sur 23) ont *məskīn* ; sur les 12 qui ont *maskīn* on compte 6 F (et 5 C sur 14). *maskīn* se rencontre essentiellement à ʾĒmariyye, dans la vieille ville, à ʾAṣṣāʿ, au Mīdān et dans les quartiers les plus récents.

39 inf. sur 54 (dont 16 F sur 23) ont *ʿəzzābi* ; sur les 15 qui ont *ʿazzābi* on compte 7 F (et 8 C sur 14). *ʿazzābi* est concentré dans la vieille ville et à proximité immédiate.

Les détails de la distribution, complexes, ne peuvent être analysés ici ; il est intéressant toutefois d'observer que les quartiers où les formes minoritaires—dans les deux sens du terme—de ces deux variantes sont présentes, fût-ce marginalement, sont à peu près les mêmes.

32. *laʾə/anno* "parce que"
La forme *liʾanno* est donnée par 2 inf. (chrétiens) ; on la trouve chez Bergsträsser 1924 (p. 94 ligne 25) et Kassab 1970 (p. 52 et 59). Elle est vraisemblablement la forme de départ, ce mot étant un emprunt relativement récent au standard. Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964 ont, outre *laʾənno* (*passim*), *liʾənno*, par ex. pour un inf. de Ṣālḥiyye (p. 80 lignes 15 et 17 et p. 82 ligne 22). La forme *laʾənno* domine (19 inf.) ; elle est en effet l'aboutissement normal de *liʾanno* (il faut songer aussi à l'analogie avec *kaʾənno* ou *(ʿa)šənno*, auparavant utilisés dans le même sens), comme l'est *laʾanno* (9 inf.), également issue de *liʾanno* mais sans le passage *a* accentué → *ə* accentué. Une forme avec voyelle intermédiaire, qu'on notera ici *a/ə*, est donnée par 6 inf. (*laʾa/ənno*), et *ləʾənno* (sans doute < *laʾənno*) par 1 inf. seulement.

33. (*-ī*)*re* / *a* (féminin des adjectifs en *-ʾīr* et des participes en *-(C)Cer*)
Certains adjectifs terminés par *-īr* (*faʾīr* "pauvre"), ainsi que des participes actifs en *-(C)Cer* (*ʿāmer* "prospère", *mfakker* "qui pensait que") prennent au féminin une terminaison *-a*, *-e* ou les deux.[38] Cette variante, particulièrement intéressante pour les éléments qu'elle apporte sur l'histoire de la terminaison 'féminine' et, au-delà, les

[38] Cf. par exemple Ambros 1977 § 3.3.1.5. et Cowell 1964, p. 138-139 (qui mentionne en outre le cas comparable, qui ne sera pas traité ici, des noms féminins de schème $C_1əC_2C_3$e/a quand C_3 = *r*, ex. *nəmra/e*).

phénomènes de pause[39], sera néanmoins examinée ici seulement en synchronie.

Le tableau 1 récapitule les combinaisons les plus fréquentes constatées chez les informateurs, pour quatre exemples:

Tableau 1. Terminaison du féminin des adjectifs en -*r* et des participes en -*(C)Cer*

ʾaṣīra/e ou *faʾīra/e*	*fātra/e*	*msāfra/e*	*mbak(k)ra/e*
e	*e*	*e (a)*	*e*
a / e	*a / e*	*a / e*	*a / e*
e	*e*	*a*	*a (e)*
e	*a*	*a (e)*	*a (e)*
a	*a*	*a*	*a (e)*

On observe également qu'on n'a jamais:

e	*e*	*a*	*a (e)*

Ce sont donc *ʾaṣīre* et *faʾīre* qui ont (conservent) -*e* ; ensuite vient *fātre*, puis *msāfre* et *mbak(k)re* (qui est attestée d'ailleurs dans la dernière série du tableau, *a a a a*, sans doute parce qu'il s'agit d'un mot qui se trouve dans des énoncé très courants et plus ou moins figés).

Ce tableau général est confirmé par les informateurs soumis au 'test' qui comportait : *ʾaṣīra/e*, *msāfra/e* (deux fois, d'abord dans *ʾēmta msāfra/e ?*, puis dans *msāfra/e bəntek kamān ?*), et *mbak(k)ra/e*.

Sur 23 informateurs, 15 ont produit la série *e a a a*, 6 la série *a a a a*, 1 la série *e e a e* (une Chrétienne, dont son cousin dit qu'elle parle 'plus vieux que son âge') et 1 autre la série *e e e e* (une Musulmane du Mīdān).

Les formes *ʾaṣīre* et *faʾīre* sont souvent jugées plus populaires ; *msāfre* est parfois jugé impossible, mais pas *mbak(k)re*.

Si on accepte l'hypothèse d'un ancien système à formes lento/allegro[40], on peut considérer que, désormais obscurci, il a donné lieu à de multiples et diverses situations, ou interprétations : harmonie vocalique (*waḥde ʾaṣīre* "une femme de petite taille" vs *tannūra ʾaṣīra* "une jupe courte"), forme de pause/forme de contexte, spécialisation syntaxique ou énonciative (*bukra msāfre* "Elle part demain" vs *msāfra*

[39] Cf. Lentin 1982b.
[40] Cf. note précédente.

"(Mais) elle est partie (voyons) !") ou systématisation en *e* ou en *a*. Quoi qu'il en soit, la situation actuelle est si complexe qu'il est pratiquement impossible de prévoir la forme que va utiliser tel ou tel locuteur.

N.B. Les trois variantes suivantes (34 à 36 : hənne(n) ḥada(n) lamma(n)) ont en commun la présence possible, pour l'une des formes, de -n. *Il faut souligner qu'il s'agit sans doute, du point de vue de l'étymologie, de trois* -n *différents. Mais on peut noter des similitudes dans les conditions favorables à l'emploi de cette forme*

34 . *hənne(n)* (pronom indép. de 3e pers. plur.)

hənnen :	19 inf.
hənne :	15 inf.
les deux formes :	9 inf.

Certains informateurs 'redécouvraient' *-n* à l'occasion de l'enquête, certains assurant énergiquement ne jamais l'employer. Ceux qui l'employaient en étaient plus conscients, la revendiquant même parfois. Actuellement la forme avec *-n* est sans doute marquée comme 'très, vraiment dialectale'. Mais la situation échappe en grande partie aux locuteurs. Il est malaisé de se faire une idée claire de la situation qui a pu prévaloir antérieurement : y avait-il deux groupes distincts de locuteurs ? Une forme à allomorphes (conditionnés phonétiquement et/ou syntaxiquement ?). On peut relever qu'un informateur dit employer la forme en *-n* quand le mot apparaît seul (par exemple en réponse à une question:—*mīn ?* "qui ?";—*hennen* "eux".

35. *ḥada(n)* "quelqu'un"

30 inf. ont *ḥada*, 1 (J) *ḥadan* seulement, 10 les 2 formes (dont 5 C ; aucun des 5 autres n'est d'un quartier très ancien).

ḥadan apparaît comme forme liée : *ʾəza ḥadan ʾəža* (vs *ʾəza ʾəža ḥada*) "si quelqu'un vient", en énoncé interrogatif : *ḥadan bəddo ʾahwe ?* "Quelqu'un veut-il un café ?" ou comme forme d'insistance, en particulier en énoncé négatif : *ma fi ḥada* "Il n'y a personne" vs *ma ḥadan ʾāla* "Personne n'a dit ça".

On peut donc formuler deux hypothèses : soit celle d'un ancien système à deux formes, soit celle de deux formes anciennes distinctes. Il importe de se souvenir que *ḥadan* est très fréquent dans les textes en moyen arabe de toutes périodes (la graphie la plus fréquente, avec *ʾalif*, est ambiguë mais la forme est assurée par plusieurs autres graphies, avec *tanwīn* ou même un *nūn*). On peut de ce fait envisager

une troisième hypothèse : une forme de base *ḥadan*, ensuite dédoublée par réinterprétation du *-n*.

La forme *ḥade*, signalée par 3 inf., n'a pas été entendue.

36. *lamma(n)* "lorsque"
Pour Bloch 1965 (p. 32-33 § 30, et p. 12 § 2b) *lamma*, forme nouvelle (empruntée à la langue classique) par rapport à *lammen*, empiète sur celle-ci, la confinant dans des emplois limités, et est avec elle dans un rapport semblable à celui de *ʾəza* à *ʾən*. L'emploi serait le suivant : *lamma et lammen* + accompli "lorsque, après que" ; *lamma* + inaccompli avec *b-* "lorsque (dans l'avenir)", + inaccompli sans *b-* : répétition dans le passé ; + l'un ou l'autre inaccompli : présent général. L'usage actuel [vers 1980] n'est pas celui-là.

Les résultats de l'enquête, peu fournis (d'autant que de nombreux inf. n'emploient ni *lamma* ni *lamman*) sont les suivants:

lamma : 20 inf.

lamman : 11 inf. (dont 3 n'auraient que cette seule forme)

lamma est plus constative, et peut apparaître dans des énoncés complets (en réponse à une question par exemple) ; *lamma/ə/en* est plus proche d'une particule conditionnelle. Malgré Bloch, *lamman* n'est pas seulement suivie d'un accompli (*lamma brūḥ / bəddi rūḥ* "quand je vais / je voudrai aller", cf. d'ailleurs un exemple dans Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964, p. 24, 20-21 : *lammen bəddna šaġġīl* "quand nous avons besoin d'un ouvrier"). Il est tentant de penser qu'on se trouve, un peu comme pour la variante précédente, devant les traces d'un système à deux formes syntaxiquement distinctes, ayant caractérisé peut-être une partie seulement des locuteurs (Sūʾ Sarūža et Ṣālḥiyye n'ont pas *lamman*), certains ayant généralisé *lamma* (qui ne serait donc pas un emprunt à la langue classique, ni en passe de marginaliser *lamman*). Mais les deux formes pourraient bien être en voie de disparition.

37. *māli / māni* (négation prédicative du pronom personnel)
Ce syntagme associe la négation (verbale) aux pronoms personnels suffixes en fonction de sujet de phrase, en les incorporant en un élément prédicatif. On le rencontre surtout en phrase nominale (très souvent avec des participes actifs), mais il peut être suivi d'un verbe à l'inaccompli si celui-ci est précédé des particules préverbales de concomitance : *ʿam(ma)* (Grotzfeld 1964, p. 130, n. 1) ou de

futur : *raḥ* etc. (*māli laḥ ʾəṭlaʿ mən bēti bukra* "Je ne sortirai pas de chez moi demain"). Il peut prendre trois formes : *māl-i/ak* etc., *mān-i/ak* etc. et, plus rarement, *mann-i/ak* etc. Certains inf. n'utilisent qu'une seule forme, d'autres emploient les deux premières, plus ou moins indifféremment mais vraisemblablement avec certaines contraintes d'ordre syntaxique dans le choix d'une des deux formes (nous en avons rencontré trois sortes : *māl/ni ṭāleʿ* vs *māli laḥ ʾəṭlaʿ* "Je ne sortirai pas" ; *mālo žāye* "Il ne vient pas" vs *māno hōn* "Il n'est pas là"[41] ; *manna* "ne sommes-nous pas … ?" dans une question vs *mālna* dans la réponse) ; un groupe a des systèmes mixtes, où c'est souvent la personne du pronom qui est déterminante dans le choix de la forme. Sur le plan syntaxique, la forme avec *-l-* est plus modalisée, celle avec *-n-* plus constative.

Callenberg 1729 et 1740 a deux exemples avec *-n-*[42].

Résultats de l'enquête : *-l-* : 21 inf. ; *-n-* : 9 inf. ; *-l-* / *-n-* : 11 inf. (dont 7 présentent des contraintes d'emploi en fonction de la personne du pronom, ou de la syntaxe) ; *mann-i* (< *māni*, et > **māl-ni*) est attesté chez 6 inf.

Peut-être *-l-* et *-n-* se répartissaient-elles entre groupes de locuteurs, qui se sont fait ensuite des emprunts réciproques puis ont spécialisé différemment les formes. La répartition par quartiers suggère une autre hypothèse : *-n-* aurait été une forme chrétienne et juive qui, du fait d'une relative déségrégation sociale, se répandrait (certains jeunes n'ont que *-n-*), avec des quartiers relais. Elle peut même apparaître comme nouvelle et plus chic. Les quartiers musulmans populaires, et même chrétiens de la vieille ville autres que Bāb Tūma sont peu ou pas touchés pour l'instant par *-n-*.

Remarque. Les deux inf. juifs qui ont (variante 21) *honīk* (forme qu'ils valorisent, la trouvant plus jolie ou plus classique) ont *māni*. Par contre, les Chrétiens qui ont *māli* ont aussi la forme 'non chrétienne' *hnīk*. Un inf. chrétien de ʾAṣṣāʿ a un comportement différent : s'il valorise *māni*, il préfère se fondre dans la masse de ceux qui ont *hnīk*. On peut y voir l'indice de ce que le processus n'est pas aussi avancé que pour *māni*. Mais même si les quartiers touchés sont moins nombreux, le phénomène semble très comparable dans les deux cas, avec transformation des valeurs des deux formes.

[41] Ce qui pourrait être une façon de distinguer entre deux types de phrase nominale.

[42] II, dernière conversation, phrase 5 ligne 3 ; III, p. A2 ligne 1.

38. *mu*, *ma, (mi)* etc. … (négation prédicative ou non prédicative non verbale)
Cette particule négative est employée peut porter sur tout ce qui n'est pas forme verbale personnelle (mais elle peut précéder un verbe quand elle porte sur un énoncé commençant par un verbe, avec la valeur "n'est-ce pas (que)"). *māhu* et *māhi* ont connu des évolutions diverses : *maw*, *mow*, *mu*, *mo* (et peut-être aussi *ma*, v. plus bas) ; *may*, *mi*. *Mu* et *ma* sont de loin les plus employées ; *mi* est résiduelle, comme *may*. Hormis *mu* et *ma*, les autres formes n'ont été recueillies, sauf dans un cas (*l-wazne mi ṣaḥīḥa* "ce n'est pas bien pesé", auprès d'un informateur musulman de 60-65 ans, de Sūʾ Sarūža) que dans ce qui est presque des locutions figées : *mi* / *may ḥəlwe* "ce n'est pas bien, ça ne se fait pas" ; *maw žāye* "il ne vient pas" ; *maw lāzem* "ce n'est pas la peine".

L'évolution est rapide, car *mow* n'a pas été entendu lors de l'enquête, et *maw* une fois seulement (cf. l'ex. ci-dessus), alors que Oestrup 1897 a *mow* et *mu*, Malinjoud 1924 *maw*, *mu*, *mahu*, *mahi* et *mo*, Bergsträsser 1924 *maw* et *ma*, Dietrich 1956 *mọw* (p. 325,-10 et -9 ; n° 8, 2 ; n° 12,2 ; n° 48,2 et 3 ; n° 52,2), Grotzfeld 1964, p. 131 *maw* et *mu*, Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964 *maw* (p. 118,14 ; 120,4 ; 162,17) et *ma* (31,19).

mu comme *ma* s'emploient aussi adverbialement, en fin d'énoncé (où leur voyelle est alors très allongée) : "n'est-ce pas ?".

Les informateurs emploient rarement la même particule dans des énoncés comme *mu/ma ḥəlwe*, afin de distinguer ainsi les deux sens possibles ("elle n'est pas jolie" et "ce n'est pas bien (de faire/dire … ça)").

ma peut être analysée comme une forme abrégée de *maw* ou/et de *may*, ou comme la négation verbale dont l'emploi aurait été étendu (elle nie des participes, des pseudo-verbes). Aucun informateur ne semble l'employer exclusivement. Peut-être ancienne et caractéristique des Chrétiens, elle est en tout cas minoritaire, et marquée, ce qui explique sans doute les appréciations diverses portées sur elle par les informateurs ('vulgaire' ; 'je me suis mis à l'employer sous l'influence d'une amie' ; 'plus récente, elle s'emploiera plus volontiers dans une situation un peu formelle' ; 'un énoncé comme *ma samʿānta* "je [fém.] ne l'ai jamais entendue" est nouveau').

39. *zbūnāt* / *zabāyen* "clients [pluriel de *zbūn*]"
zbūnāt : 4 inf. (H, de ʾĒmariyye, ʾAnawāt, du quartier juif et de Mīdān sud) ; *zbūnāt* et *zabāyen* : 20 inf. ; *zabāyen* : 14 inf. (plus jeunes que ceux du groupe précédent ; surtout de l'ouest de la vieille ville, du nord du Mīdān au sud à Sūʾ Sarūža, ainsi que dans les nouveaux quartiers et à Ṣālḥiyye).

Il y a des éléments qui permettent de penser que la forme ancienne est *zbūnāt*, sur laquelle empiète de plus en plus *zabāyen*. Les locuteurs sont pleinement conscients de cette situation ; les plus jeunes ne l'emploient plus guère ; *zbūnāt* peut être employé avec une valeur nouvelle ("clientes"), et se cantonne à des emplois plus ou moins figés ou traditionnels, ou de "clientèle", ou encore dans des emplois plus spécialisés et expressifs ("clients d'une prostituée").

40. *ḥammāmāt* / *ḥamamīm* "hammams [pluriel de *ḥammām*]"
Les formes attestées sont *ḥamamīm*, *ḥamāmīm*, *ḥammāmīn*, *ḥamāmīn* (et *ḥamamīn* ?) ; *ḥammāmāt*.

-āt : 22 inf. ; *-āt*, *-īm* : 2 inf. ; *-im*, *-īm* : 8 inf. ; *-īn* : 2 inf. (chrétiennes).

Une inf. utilise *ḥamamīm* au sens de lessive(s). On constate que *ḥammāmāt* domine, mais rien ne permet, dans ces données, d'attribuer à une forme ou une autre une valeur sociolinguistique particulière, qui a pourtant dû exister, si l'on compare au cas du dialecte de Tlemcen par exemple où, vers 1900, au témoignage de W. Marçais, les femmes utilisaient *ḥmāim* et les hommes *ḥammāmāt*.

41. *byə/byū*C_2VC_3 (inaccompli des verbes à C_1 = W)
Les verbes à première consonne radicale *w* ont deux formes d'inaccompli possibles, l'une semblable à celle des verbes de racine à trois consonnes saines, l'autre avec chute du *w*, par exemple : *wəṣel* "arriver", inaccompli *byūṣal* ou *byəṣal* (les deux formes sont issues de **byəwṣal*, avec *əw* → *ū* ou → *ə*).[43]

Sur 44 inf., 20 ont exclusivement *ū*, 5 surtout *ū*, 12 les 2, 4 surtout *ə*, 3 exclusivement *ə*. Mais les informateurs n'ont pas tous été interrogés sur tous les verbes, ni à toutes les personnes. Ces résultats sont donc indicatifs.

[43] Les verbes à C_1 *y* sont soumis, *mutatis mutandis*, au même traitement (*əy* → *ī* ou → *ə*).

La forme brève, minoritaire, est-elle une forme ancienne (cf. Grotzfeld 1964, p. 72-73, avec renvoi à Cantineau 1940-1946 p. 187-188), en voie d'être supplantée, ou une forme nouvelle ? Rien n'interdit de penser qu'elles sont toutes les deux anciennes (mais les deux ex. de Callenberg 1729 et 1740 sont avec *aw*) ; Ḥasībī 1968-1969 en a un de chacune des deux formes.

La forme longue apparaît le plus souvent après la particule préverbale de concomitance *ʿam* ou après le pseudo-verbe *bədd-* "vouloir", alors que la forme brève apparaît plutôt lorsque le verbe est suivi d'un complément d'objet direct. La prosodie de la phrase serait aussi sans doute à prendre en considération.

42. *byənḥəki* / *byənḥaka*

De nombreux verbes à C_3 *y* ont deux formes d'inaccompli (ainsi que d'impératif et de participe actif) de VII^e^ forme verbale dérivée, de schéma vocalique *ə i* et *a a* : ainsi *nḥaka* "se dire, pouvoir être dit", inaccompli *byənḥəki* ou *byənḥaka* ; il en va de même pour un petit nombre de verbes de VIII^e^ forme, comme *ltaʾa* "se rencontrer, être trouvable". Cowell 1964, p. 92-93 distingue deux classes de verbes, ceux qui ont les deux formes et ceux qui ont seulement *a a* ; il ajoute que, dans l'aire syrienne, il y a une tendance à utiliser les deux formes indifféremment. Damas semble bien dans ce cas ; pour certains verbes cependant, le schéma *a a* semble exclu (**byənʾəri*, de *nʾara* "se lire, être lu").

L'enquête n'a été faite que pour quelques verbes : *nḥaka*, *rtawa* "se raconter, être raconté", *nkasa* "se mettre, pouvoir être porté (vêtement)", *nʾara* ; *ltaʾa*.

Le schéma *a a* est majoritaire : sur 23 inf., 16 l'ont exclusivement, 2 ont les deux formes, et 5 ont le schéma *ə i*.

Il y a sans doute une relative spécialisation du schéma *ə i* pour des valeurs d'actif ou de moyen et du schéma *a a* pour des valeurs de passif (parfois pour le même verbe : *byəltəʾi* "il rencontre" *byəltaʾa* "il se rencontre, se trouve, est disponible"). L'alignement par analogie des deux schémas vocaliques *ə i* et *a a* sur ceux des inaccomplis de la VIII^e^ et de la V^e^ formes respectivement, vu leurs valeurs souvent analogues (actif/moyen ; passif[44]) pourrait être une explication simple, qui permettrait de faire l'économie de la référence discutable à

[44] Même si la V^e^ forme a souvent aussi une valeur de moyen.

d'anciens passifs de type *yunsaqā* (Grotzfeld 1964, p. 78), au demeurant peu fréquents dans la langue classique.

43. *madda/əllo*
Quand une forme verbale, terminée par une consonne géminée précédée d'une voyelle *a* (*-a/ədd*), est suivie d'un complément pronominal introduit par la préposition *l-*, celle-ci apparaît alors sous la forme de son allophone *-Vll-*, et la voyelle qui précède *ll* est soit *a* soit *ə* : *radda/əllo* "il lui a rendu". D'après Grotzfeld 1964, p. 64 et n. 1, *a* ne serait pas utilisé par les Chrétiens ; mais Kassab 1970 a *a*, et les résultats de notre enquête ne confirment pas cette assertion : *a* : 25 inf. dont 9 F et 5 C ; *ə*:23 inf. dont 11 F et 6 C.

Chacune des deux formes, on le voit, est utilisée par à peu près la moitié des informateurs chrétiens et par la moitié des informateurs musulmans. Par contre, la forme *a* semble plus 'féminine'. La répartition par quartiers montre une relative dispersion, avec une certaine concentration de la forme *a* à ʾAṣṣāʿ, à Ṣālḥiyye et au Mīdān.

44. *ram(y)et*
Aux 3[e] pers. fém. sing. et 3[e] pers. plur. de l'accompli des verbes de racine à C_3 *y*, de type C_1aC_2a, $byəC_1C_2i$, le *y* n'apparaît pas normalement à Damas ; certains locuteurs pourtant produisent pour ces personnes des formes avec *y* (analogues aux formes normales des verbes de type $C_1əC_2i$, $byəC_1C_2a$ de racine à C_3 *y*), et on a alors *ramyet*, *ramyu* (voire *rəmyet*, *rəmyu*), comme *nəsyet*, *nəsyu* "oublier" au lieu de *ramet*, *ramu*.

Sur 37 inf., 4 présentent des formes 'anormales' pour *rama* "lancer" et *ʾara* "lire". Peut-être s'agit-il là d'un trait ancien du dialecte (Oestrup 1897, p. 58, 10 et 98,-9 a *žəryet* "elle a couru" ; plus récemment Dietrich 1956 a *ʾaryet* "elle a lu" (n° 38, 3 et 4 à côté de *ʾəret* n° 39,3), trait qui serait préservé dans quelques verbes. Mais on peut plutôt penser à un alignement de certains verbes de type C_1aC_2a sur ceux de type $byəC_1C_2i$, pour des raisons d'ordre sémantique, qui commencerait par l'inaccompli.

45. *byəstrīḥ / byəstrāḥ*
Certains verbes à la X[e] forme dérivée, de racine à C_2 *w/y* ont deux formes d'inaccompli, l'une à vocalisme *i* (*ī*), l'autre à vocalisme *a* (*ā*) : *byəstrī/āḥ* "il se repose", *byəstfī/ād* "il tire profit".

Sur ce point, l'enquête n'a été menée qu'avec un nombre réduit d'informateurs : 9 ont la forme en *i*, 2 ont la forme *a* à côté de celle en *i*. Une des raisons de la prévalence de la forme en *i* est probablement la valeur d'actif/moyen associée à cette voyelle (à l'inaccompli) ; si tel est bien le cas, on peut s'attendre à ce que la forme en *i* évince à peu près totalement celle en *a*.

46. *ṭālaᶜ* / *ṭallaᶜ* "sortir, extraire qqc (de sa poche, d'un sac …)"
8 inf. ont la IIᵉ forme seule, 14 ont les deux (6 préférant la IIᵉ et 4 la IIIᵉ). Pour les informateurs qui emploient les deux formes, le choix peut varier ex. en fonction du complément, ou suivant que le verbe est à l'accompli (II) ou à l'inaccompli (III après la particule de futur *raḥ*, mais II ou III après le pseudo-verbe *bədd-* "vouloir") ; pour certains, il y a une légère différence de sens (III = "sortir quelque chose qui était mieux caché ou rangé", sans doute à cause d'une valeur iconique de l'allongement de la voyelle dans III). La forme III, déjà bien attestée dans les sources arabes anciennes, domine ; II semble relativement plus récente. Quoi qu'il en soit, II est actuellement une forme essentiellement 'chrétienne', sauf dans la vieille ville. Les distinctions d'emploi ou de sens évoquées ci-dessus, qui sont le fait d'informateurs utilisant les deux formes, et dont le parcours dans la ville s'est fait en direction de quartiers récents, montrent comment une forme nouvelle s'introduit (par ex. dans les formes verbales non assertives). La IIᵉ forme est bien attestée au Liban, et en Palestine ; le fait qu'à Damas elle soit présente surtout chez les Chrétiens (et peut-être introduite par eux) pourrait plaider en faveur d'une importation, du Liban par exemple.

47. *ṭafa* / *ṭaffa* "éteindre"
Pour "éteindre" (la lumière, le feu d'un réchaud à gaz ou à pétrole, un incendie etc.) on emploie soit une forme simple *ṭafa*, soit la IIᵉ forme dérivée *ṭaffa* ; beaucoup d'informateurs distinguent sémantiquement les deux formes.

I : 13 inf. ; I et II : 8 inf. ; I (et II pour un incendie) : 12 inf. ; II : 2 inf.

La question de savoir comment on dit "éteindre le feu" (d'un réchaud ou d'une cuisinière) a en outre été posée à 26 autres informateurs : I 22 inf. ; II : 4 inf.

14 inf. ont déclaré spontanément qu'on emploie la IIᵉ forme quand il s'agit d'éteindre "qqc de grand", comme un incendie. Mais c'est là

sans doute en partie un commentaire qui fait référence à la valeur d''intensif' que la tradition scolaire, et métalinguistique, associe, à tort ou à raison, à cette forme. La situation est en réalité plus complexe, et on observe par exemple que la II^e^ forme est employée en énoncé non assertif (interrogatif, exclamatif, impératif) par des informateurs qui emploient sinon la I^e^ forme. Il n'en reste pas moins que certains n'emploient réellement pas la II^e^ forme. La majorité emploie les deux formes, quelques uns semblent n'employer que la II^e^.

I est présente presque partout dans la vieille ville, et au sud et à l'ouest de celle-ci, jusqu'aux quartiers les lus récents ; ce n'est qu'à partir de Sūʾ Sarūža et au delà, vers Ṣālḥiyye, qu'on rencontre les informateurs qui n'emploient que II ; à ʾAṣṣāʿ vers l'est se côtoient tous les emplois.

Ce tableau confus ne permet pas de privilégier un scénario d'évolution : I et II étaient-elles employées dans des parties différentes de la ville, et les locuteurs I ont-ils emprunté II ? Ou l'emploi de cette forme est-il une innovation, mais née où ? Ou II avait-elle des valeurs différentes pour une partie des locuteurs, tout en étant interchangeable dans certaines conditions avec I pour d'autres ? etc.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il faudra tout particulièrement prendre en compte, pour répondre à ces questions, les valeurs et les emplois de la II^e^ forme (qui alterne souvent avec la I^e^ dans des conditions complexes, et tend peut-être à la remplacer, au moins partiellement).[45] Il est d'ailleurs intéressant d'observer que les groupes de locuteurs qui emploient I et ceux qui emploient II coïncident très largement avec ceux qui, respectivement, n'utilisent pas ou utilisent la II^e^ forme pour l'inaccompli des verbes à voyelle radicale d'inaccompli e / o (voir plus loin § 8). On voit ainsi se confirmer qu'il y a bien une zone (vieille ville essentiellement) où I domine.

5.1. *Petit bilan provisoire*

Que peut-on conclure de l'examen de ces quarante-sept variantes d'inégale importance ?

– D'abord, que la diversité linguistique est présente, dans la ville, dans la famille, chez le même individu. La constatation a son importance, pour mieux comprendre les appréciations portées par les locuteurs, ainsi que pour mesurer des problèmes d'intercompréhension

[45] Cf. Lentin 1991.

(intradialectale) dont on aurait pu méconnaître l'existence. À cet égard, les problèmes dans une même ville ne sont pas *qualitativement* différents de ceux auxquels doit faire face l'intercompréhension interdialectale. Un coup d'œil aux variantes lexicales traitées par Cadora 1979 montre vite qu'on retrouve un certain nombre de celles qui ont été signalées ici.

– Les différentes formes ne sont presque jamais attribuables à tel ou tel groupe de locuteurs, car leurs conditionnements sont complexes, mais on note des tendances de groupes à employer plutôt telle forme (avec éventuellement un conditionnement syntaxique). Emprunts, recouvrements se font à partir de distributions anciennes, sans doute plus nettes, des diverses formes.

– Sont conservées à Damas des formes plus anciennes que d'autres, en particulier dans la vieille ville (elles sont assez souvent mieux conservées par les Chrétiens, cf. par ex. 9 *ʾawlāni*) ; il arrive qu'elles soient adoptées hors des limites des groupes qui les ont conservées, et qu'elles soient ainsi pour ainsi dire 'réinjectées'—avec les modifications d'emploi que cela implique—délogeant éventuellement alors des formes pourtant plus récentes (cf. 37 *māni,* 21 *honīk*).

– Ces phénomènes indiquent selon toute vraisemblance une évolution de la situation sociale à Damas, caractérisée par une intensification et une ampleur sans précédent des brassages (certes anciens) qui déterminent plus de contacts, d'emprunts réciproques entre groupes sociaux.

– Un des phénomènes les plus clairs est que les locuteurs chrétiens, en tant que tels, outre le fait qu'ils ont conservé plus que d'autres des traits anciens, partagent (et ont dû par le passé en partager davantage encore) un certain nombre de traits qui leur sont propres. La situation est certes, dans le détail, plus compliquée : un informateur chrétien du Mīdān, par exemple, a certains de ces traits mais pas tous ; et on observe, entre les locuteurs chrétiens des quartiers de Bāb Tūma et ceux du cœur de la vieille ville des différences, les seconds étant, dialectalement, plus 'musulmans'. Ces différences doivent recouper d'ailleurs en partie des différences sociales entre deux groupes distincts, comme l'indiquent les jugements que l'on entend exprimer parfois par Grecs catholiques et Grecs orthodoxes.

– Cela dit, il existe incontestablement des traits dialectaux 'chrétiens' : 2 *faṣūlye* etc., 3 *bazella* / *bazālya*, 5 *farāše* etc., 26 *bərd'ān*, 30 *ta/ə*C_1C_2*ī*C_3, de même qu'une emphase apparemment plus forte (mis à part le cas particulier de *nahr*) que celle des musulmans.

– Une question intéressante serait de savoir si le dialecte des Juifs partage avec le dialecte 'chrétien' des traits, et est plus proche de lui que du dialecte 'musulman' ; il semble que oui (et c'est le sentiment nettement exprimé par un des deux informateurs juifs que nous avons interrogés).[46]

– Quartiers : mis à part le quartier juif, ʾAṣṣāʾ et surtout Bāb Tūma, où appartenance communautaire et de quartier se recoupent très largement, et les nouveaux quartiers, où brassage et situation linguistique mélangée vont de pair pour certaines variantes (8 *f/w/ʾarža*, 16 *ḍawwaᶜ / ḍayyaᶜ*), le Mīdān semble constituer une entité relativement autonome ; les quartiers à l'ouest de la vieille ville (Bāb əs-Srīže—avec Šāġūr plus à l'est—ʾAnawāt et Sūʾ Sarūža) constituent une zone où les quartiers se groupent différemment, suivant les variantes, Sūʾ Sarūža etc. formant parfois unité avec le Mīdān, ʾAnawāt et Sūʾ Sarūža allant souvent de pair.

– Pour des traits éventuellement caractéristiques des femmes, v. § 6.

– Certaines formes sont empruntées à d'autres aires dialectales—mais emprunter ne veut pas dire nécessairement emprunter à l'extérieur. Outre le fait que des formes peuvent être communes à des dialectes extérieurs et à des sous-groupes à l'intérieur de la ville, d'autres peuvent en effet avoir été apportées à Damas par des groupes qui s'y sont installés et les ont ensuite diffusées.

– Il paraît bien difficile de déterminer des zones d'où partiraient des innovations, ou des trajets suivant lesquels elles se répandraient. Le Mīdān paraît être une zone assez conservatrice ; les Chrétiens, on l'a vu, sont 'porteurs' de formes dont l'usage peut se répandre hors de leur communauté, et ils sont parfois vecteurs d'innovation.

6. Colorations vocaliques d'ensemble?

Les enquêtes sociolinguistiques sont souvent centrées sur l'examen détaillé d'une ou de quelques variantes, et ne s'intéressent peut-être pas toujours suffisamment à des questions comme : existe-t-il des groupes de locuteurs qui se caractériseraient par ex. par une 'coloration vocalique d'ensemble', un plus ou moins grand degré d'emphase,

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[46] Je n'ai pas eu accès aux travaux qui ont pu être consacré en Israël aux Juifs damascènes émigrés, ni eu connaissance de travaux consacrés à ceux d'entre eux qui ont émigré aux États-Unis.

une zone privilégiée pour les points d'articulation des consonnes, etc. ?[47] De telles caractéristiques de groupe, si elles existent, constituent en effet, qu'elles soient consciemment ou non perçues par eux, un élément objectif d'appréciation des jugements que portent les uns sur les autres les divers (groupes de) locuteurs, de la façon dont ces jugements se constituent et sont, plus ou moins abusivement, étendus et systématisés ; de ce fait, elles constituent des caractéristiques linguistiques plus importantes que celles qui sont plus immédiatemet accessibles à leur conscience (ou à celle de l'observateur).

L'observation et l'écoute des enregistrements faits au cours de l'enquête nous avaient amené à nous poser la question sur la 'coloration vocalique d'ensemble', et à tenter de lui apporter quelques éléments de réponse. Un petit 'test', auquel il a déjà été fait allusion, avait été confectionné à cet effet, afin de pouvoir comparer dans 44 phrases, pour 101 points précis, dont les timbres vocaliques, les réalisations de 25 locuteurs.[48]

Ce qui frappe à Damas (comme sans doute partout ailleurs) est une grande variété dans la réalisation phonétique des phonèmes vocaliques (d'autant plus, naturellement, que ceux-ci sont relativement peu nombreux). ; il n'y a pas deux locuteurs qui présentent des configurations identiques, y compris pour les même voyelles dans exactement le même environnement consonantique, voire dans les mêmes mots. Voici, sans entrer aucunement dans les détails, quelques observations qui ont pu être faites[49]:

– les trois jeunes informateurs (25 ans environ) du Mīdān présentent une sorte d'harmonie vocalique, dans le sens qu'il y a rarement dans un même mot un grand écart entre les voyelles du point de vue de la localisation, ainsi qu'un phénomène de pharyngalisation (? on utilisera ci-après le terme impressionniste d''emphase') des phonè-

[47] Sans parler des types et des volumes de voix, de la prosodie etc.

[48] Ces phrases étaient écrites, et il était demandé aux informateurs de les lire. Cette procédure pose évidemment un certain nombre de problèmes méthodologiques (et elle exclut de surcroît, par définition, la possibilité d'enquêter sur des locuteurs analphabètes). Mais elle a des avantages, en particulier celui que la graphie arabe permet souvent de ne suggérer aucune forme particulière d'une variante ; par exemple, pour la variante 47, la phrase proposée (*bəddi yāki trūḥi təṭfi/ṭṭaffī-l-na n-nār* "Je voudrais que tu (fém.) ailles nous éteindre le feu") permettait de déterminer, dans de bonnes conditions, si l'informateur était plus spontanément porté à utiliser *ṭafa* ou *ṭaffa*.

[49] Répétons (cf. note 27) que nos observations ne s'appuient sur aucune étude instrumentale.

mes vocaliques[50]; leurs consonnes emphatiques ne sont jamais très emphatiques. L'impression globale est que, bien qu'ils produisent des voyelles d'avant comme d'arrière, fermées comme ouvertes, leurs voyelles sont relativement ouvertes et relativement d'arrière : 'graves'. On note une abondance relative des [a] par rapport aux [ə] (deux des trois informateurs sont ceux qui, parmi les 25, en présentent le moins ; ils sont d'ailleurs parmi ceux qui centralisent le moins le /a/, v. § 7). Une articulation globalement plus en arrière des voyelles et une sorte d'harmonie vocalique : ces éléments sont certainement parmi ceux qui expliquent l'appréciation populaire (voir le début du § 3) sur la façon de parler du Mīdān (on notera que les deux femmes du même quartier ont plus de [ə]).

– les femmes, de façon générale, présentent moins d'harmonie vocalique, mais, corrélativement, elles ont une grande gamme de timbres vocaliques différenciés ; à la fois un continuum de [i] à [a], mais aussi la possibilité de contrastes plus grands. Elles semblent bien emphatiser moins les consonnes emphatiques ; l'impression qu'on peut avoir qu'elles les emphatiseraient plus est due au fait que l'ensemble des voyelles qu'elles présentent étant moins 'emphatique', les consonnes emphatiques 'ressortent' davantage que dans le cas, par exemple, des informateurs du Mīdān. Ce sont les femmes qui, de façon très nette, offrent le contraste le plus grand entre les deux *a* de mots comme *harbān* "en fuite" et *kamān* "aussi". L'impression globale est qu'elles 'articulent mieux' et ne 'ramassent' pas toutes les voyelles des mots dans une même zone articulatoire.

– pour d'autres locuteurs, pour lesquels [a] et [ə] sont bien représentés (et [ä] moins), la présence par ailleurs de voyelles d'avant fermées donne une tout autre coloration générale à la prononciation, plus 'à bouche fermée', avec là encore une réalisation peu emphatique des consonnes emphatiques.

– certains locuteurs présentent une configuration qui se rapproche de celle des femmes (avec cependant moins de [ä], qui serait donc plus 'féminin'), en ce sens qu'ils emploient à la fois [a] et [ə] en nombre important, et qu'ils ont des [ü] (réalisation de certains /ə/).

– on observe aussi une prononciation labialisée de /ə/ après les consonnes labiales (les réalisations sont diverses : [ʉ̈], [ʉ], [o], [u]) chez des informateurs qui sont de la vieille ville ou de quartiers pro-

[50] On pourrait parler de voyelles 'bémolisées'—si l'on peut employer ce terme pour qualifier des voyelles—ou encore rhotacisées.

ches en direction du Mīdān (mais pas de ce quartier). Ce type de réalisation est considéré comme ‘populaire’, ce qui invite à raffiner la définition des éléments contribuant à cette appréciation, et montre qu’elle est, de fait, loin de concerner les seuls habitants du Mīdān.

7. La centralisation de *a*

Un phénomène frappant est la grande proximité phonétique de certaines réalisations de /a/ avec [ə]. Il n’est certes pas rare que, dans les langues, deux phonèmes (ici /a/ et /ə/) aient des réalisations proches, voire identiques, et la remarque pourrait paraître anecdotique (et due uniquement à une sensibilité—ou à une faiblesse—de l’oreille d’un enquêteur de langue française). Mais plusieurs des variantes examinées au § 5, et beaucoup d’autres faits invitent à se poser plus sérieusement la question d’un possible processus de centralisation de *a* en cours à Damas, sans préjuger de ses futures éventuelles conséquences sur le système vocalique du dialecte.

On peut observer d’abord que dans certains cas la centralisation de *a* est déjà opérée dans le dialecte, si on suppose un **a* par exemple pour le participe passé des verbes C_3 = *y* : *mə*C_1C_2*i* (ex. *məʾli* “frit”) ou pour certains schèmes de pluriels nominaux, par ex. *ʾərᵊġfe* “pains”.

La morphologie présente des alternances régulières *a* / *ə*, par ex. *tlāte* / *tlətt* à l’état construit (“trois”).

Dans beaucoup de cas, avec des mots outils ou dans le maniement de lexèmes ou de constructions d’emploi constant, on observe une ‘libre’ alternance *a* / *ə* : **ṣār-lo* > *ṣa/ər-lo* “il lui est arrivé” ou “cela fait [tant de temps] que” ; *štaʾtəllak* / *štəʾtəllak* “tu me manques/m’as manqué” ; *radd* auxiliaire : *rədd ṭəleʿ* “il est reparti” ; (nombres cardinaux de 11 à 19 à l’état construit) : *tmәntaʿšar* / *tmәntaʿšәr sәne* “dix-huit ans” ; préposition *la-* + article *–l-* → *la-l-* / *lə-l-* ; *yalli*/*yəlli* (relatif) ; *ʿand*/*ʿənd* “chez” ; *yamma* / *yəmma*, *lamma*/*ləmma* “soit … soit”.

Rappelons les alternances rencontrées au § 5 : 6 *ʿallēʾa* / *ʿallāʾa*, 28 *nəḥna* / *naḥna*, 32 *laʾə*/*anno* “parce que”, 43 *madda*/*əllo*, 44 *ramyet*, *ramyu* parfois réalisés *rəmyet*, *rəmyu*, et la notation (Dietrich 1956) *ʾəret* (= *ʾaret*), et tout particulièrement celles qui ont été étudiées de ce point de vue précisément : 29 C_1*ə/a*C_2C_3*ān*, 30 *ta/ə*C_1C_2*ī*C_3 et 31 *ma/əskīn* et *ʿa/əzzābi*. Rappelons que pour plusieurs de ces variantes, les formes en *ə* sont explicitement reconnues comme autonomes et distinctes (au point que certains informateurs les récusent).

On recense un nombre relativement réduit de paires opposant par exemple des noms de schèmes $C_1aC_2C_3a/e$ et $C_1əC_2C_3a/e$ (*xabze* "fournée", *xəbze* "morceau de pain") ou $maC_1C_2eC_3$ et $məC_1C_2eC_3$ (*məġreb*, "coucher du soleil", *Maġreb* "Maghreb").

Voici une petite liste d'exemples de réalisations [ə] de /a/ dans diverses formes nominales ou verbales, recueillis à Damas:

• en syllabe prétonique, le phénomène s'observe souvent (comme dans le cas des variantes 29 et 30) avant un groupe de deux consonnes (différentes ou identiques ; cf. Cowell 1964 p. 13-14 pour certains dialectes de la région) : *t-ta/ənēn* "lundi" ; *Bəġdād* "Bagdad", *səbbāṭ* "chaussure", *ˀəmwāt* "morts", *zəngīl* "riche", *ḥəzzēra* "devinette", *xəzēt ˀl-ʿēn* "que le mauvais œil soit écarté de …".

• en syllabe accentuée (là encore souvent avant un groupe CC) : *šəˀfe* "morceau", *fəḍḍa* "argent (métal)", *tfərraž* "regarde" ; après C : *fəˀᵊr* "pauvreté", *ta/əzkara* "billet".

• en syllabe posttonique : *ʿawanṭəži* "fumiste".

On voit donc que /a/ se comporte parfois, dans certaines conditions et pour certains locuteurs, comme /e/ et /o/, à savoir qu'il est centralisé et réalisé [ə] en syllabe non finale (cas des enclitiques inclus). Les facteurs facilitant ce passage semblent être les suivants:

– L'environnement consonantique : surtout après f, m ; s, š, ž ; avant r, l, b, ž. Mais on trouve des exemples après tous les phonèmes du dialecte, y compris ˀ, ḥ, x, ṣ, ḍ et ṭ (sauf ḏ, ġ, h, w et y, mais sans doute est-ce par le hasard des exemples recueillis). Parfois même on observe une labialisation du *ə* : *Buġdād*, *subbāṭ* (par contre le passage à *i*, comme dans *siyyāra* "voiture" et *ṭiyyāra* "avion" pourrait être dû à l'emprunt).

– Le tempo : *tḥaṭṭəmet wə tdammaret* "elle a été complètement détruite".

– L'attention portée au discours (ainsi quand on répète pour insister, ou pour quelqu'un qui aurait mal entendu, on a toujours *a*).

Du point de vue sociolinguistique, parmi nos informateurs, on remarque par exemple que le groupe des hommes du Mīdān présente peu le phénomène ; la majorité des exemples provient de locuteurs de la vieille ville et de femmes chrétiennes, c'est-à-dire, on l'a vu, de groupes qui ont une variété plus grande de timbres vocaliques et des voyelles non 'emphatiques'. Mais le phénomène touche, inégalement l'ensemble des locuteurs. Il nous semble qu'il mériterait de faire l'objet d'une étude sociolinguistique particulièrement soigneuse, vu son

importance et celle des implications qu'il a pour l'évolution future du dialecte.

N.B. Les formes avec *ə* de *ma/əskīn* et *ʿa/əzzābi* (variante 31) ne semblent pas être déterminées par les mêmes facteurs.

8. Verbes à voyelle radicale d'inaccompli *e* / *o*

Il est bien connu que, comme dans d'autres dialectes de la région (par ex. Alep, cf. Barthélemy 1935-1969), beaucoup de verbes à accompli $C_1aC_2aC_3$ peuvent avoir un inaccompli en $byəC_1C_2eC_3$ ou en $byəC_1C_2oC_3$. Pour Grotzfeld 1964, p. 69-70, *o* est la vocalisation 'de loin la plus courante' ; elle apparaîtrait 'toujours' au voisinage ('bei') des emphatiques, et souvent à celui de *k*, *x* et *b*. Mais on trouve en réalité des exemples de *e* en contexte emphatique : *byəḥṣer* "il encercle ; il est oppressé", *byəfṭem* "il sèvre", *byəʾṣef* "il brise" etc.

14 informateurs ont été interrogés systématiquement sur 115 verbes, dont 24 à C_2 ou C_3 = ʾ.[51] Il n'est pas toujours facile d'obtenir des réponses fiables, les informateurs hésitant d'autant plus qu'ils utilisent spontanément beaucoup de ces verbes avec un pron. pers. suffixe (et non un complément nominal), cas où la voyelle radicale, passant dans l'avant-dernière syllabe, devient *ə* dans les deux cas, ou parce que certains utilisent une IIe forme à l'inaccompli (sur ce point cf. § 5 variante 47 *ṭaffa*).

Parfois deux sens différents sont distingués par les informateurs suivant la vocalisation : *byəbseṭ* "il fait plaisir", *byəbsoṭ* "il étend".[52] De nombreux informateurs n'emploient pas (toujours) la même voyelle à l'inacc en *b*- d'une part, à l'inacc sans *b*- et à l'impératif d'autre part (ex. *byəḥfor*, *ʿam yəḥfer* "il creuse" ; *byəkbos* / *kbēs*). Certaines vocalisations (en *o* surtout) sont jugées par certains comme 'plus dialectales'. La vocalisation radicale des mêmes verbes en arabe standard semble ne jouer qu'un rôle mineur (bien que certains informateurs l'évoquent ; d'ailleurs plusieurs de ces verbes acceptent aussi la double vocalisation *i*/*u*). Pour certains verbes, il semble que la possibilité d'avoir l'une ou l'autre des deux vocalisations soit à peu près

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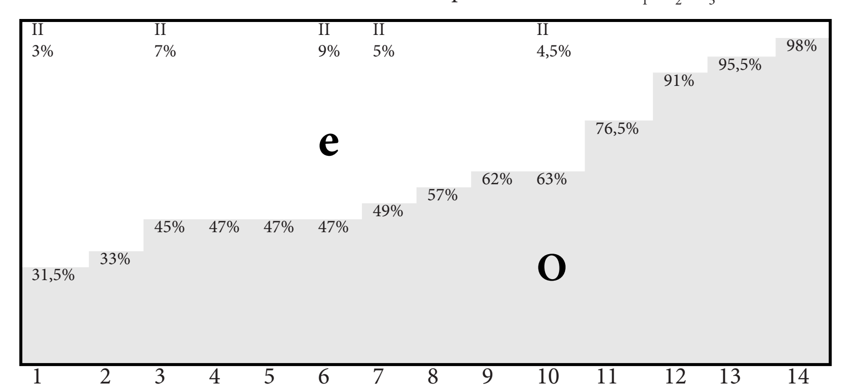
[51] En outre, 25 informateurs (dont 1 seul des 14) ont été interrogés sur 9 verbes (*ḥazar* "deviner", *ġalab* "l'emporter sur", *xatam* "sceller", *ʿažan* "pétrir", *tarak* "laisser, quitter", *masak* "saisir, empoigner", *ḥamal* "emporter", *bazȧ* "cracher" et *kabas* "presser, appuyer").

[52] Un informateur fait la même distinction, mais avec un vocalisme inversé.

équivalente (y compris pour le même locuteur) ; pour d'autres au contraire, c'est l'une des deux qui est majoritaire à l'échelle de l'ensemble des informateurs ; pour une troisième série de verbes enfin, il semble que les deux vocalisations distinguent deux groupes cohérents de locuteurs. Il est donc un peu artificiel de regrouper tous ces verbes dans le même tableau. Cela permet cependant d'indiquer des tendances (même si le nombre d'informateurs est réduit).

Les pourcentages des deux vocalisations, pour les 14 informateurs interrogés sur 115 verbes, se présentent ainsi (tableau 2)

Tableau 2. Vocalisation *e* ou *o* de l'inaccompli de 115 verbes $C_1aC_2aC_3$



Liste des informateurs (H = homme, F = femme ; M = Musulman, C = Chrétien ; âge ; quartier d'origine, éventuellement quartier actuel ; profession) : 1 : HM 25-30 ʾAnawāt ; 2 : FM 20-25, Sālḥiyye/Mazraʿa, employée ; 3 : HM, 20-25, Šaʿlān, étudiant ; 4 : HM 45-50, Bāb əs-Srīže, enseignant ; 5 : HC 45-50, ʾĒmariyye puis nouveaux quartiers, haut fonctionnaire ; 6 : HM 30-35, ʾAbᵊr ʿĀtke, fonctionnaire ; 7 : HM 20-25, Šāġūr puis Mīdān, étudiant ; 8 : FM 20-25, ʾAbu Rummāne, étudiante ; 9 : HM 35-40, ʾAnawāt puis ʾAbu Rummāne, universitaire ; 10 : FC 20-25, Žisᵊr puis l-Mālki, employée ; 11 : HC 35-40, l-ʾAṣṣāʿ ; 12 : FC 35-40, ʾAṣṣāʿ ; 13 : H C 35-40, ʾAṣṣāʿ ; 14 : FC 35-40, ʾAbu Rummāne, enseignante.

La vocalisation en *o* (60%) est plus fréquente que celle en *e* (38%) ; les 2% d'informateurs restants n'emploient aucune de ces deux formes, mais la II^{e} forme.

L'examen des quartiers d'origine, des milieux sociaux, de l'âge et du sexe des informateurs ne suggère pas de répartition claire en

fonction de ces paramètres ; il est cependant frappant de constater que les 5 inf. (n° 10 à 14) ayant la proportion la plus élevée de *o* sont tous chrétiens (le sixième Chrétien, inf. n° 5, originaire de la vieille ville, se situant au milieu de ceux qui ont un pourcentage moindre).

On a, comme pour plusieurs des variantes du § 5, le choix entre deux interprétations possibles : soit la vocalisation en *o* est ancienne et a été conservée par les Chrétiens ; soit il s'agit d'une forme 'chrétienne' (et il faudrait alors déterminer si elle est stable, en expansion ou en régression).

On ne peut appuyer la première hypothèse sur le fait qu'on trouve chez Cantineau & Helbaoui 1953 (informateur musulman de la vieille ville) certaines vocalisations en *o* : les verbes concernés, en effet, sont de ceux pour lesquels une très grande majorité de locuteurs a *o*, soit de verbes pour lesquels l'inf. n° 5 a lui aussi *o* ; de plus les deux auteurs ont *e* pour des verbes comme *xalaᶜ* et *ᶜazam*, comme l'inf. n° 5, alors que les inf. n° 10 à 14 ont *o*.

L' hypothèse d'une forme 'chrétienne' semble plus cohérente, *a contrario* pour les raisons qui viennent d'être dites, ensuite parce que, pour certains verbes au moins (*ḥamal* "emporter", *ᶜazal* "mettre à l'écart", *ʾafal* "fermer à clef", *kasar* "casser" par exemple—remarquer les sonantes en C_3), la situation semble particulièrement claire : les quelques informateurs qui ont la vocalisation *o* pour ces verbes sont en effet tous des Chrétiens.

9. Autres variantes ; traits disparus ou en voie de disparition

9.1. *Autres variantes*

– Une variante morphologique très intéressante concerne la 3e pers. fém. sing. de l'accompli verbal, sans ou avec pronom personnel suffixe et—il s'agit de la même structure syllabique que celle de l'une des formes verbales possibles—les noms de schème $C_1aC_2aC_3a/e$ suivis d'un pronom personnel suffixe.[53] Le tableau 3 donne les différentes formes possibles:

[53] N.B. Sont ici passées en revue, plus rapidement, des variantes supplémentaires, qui pour l'essentiel n'ont pas fait l'objet d'une enquête systématique. Il nous a paru utile de les signaler et d'en commenter certaines, pour indiquer des pistes de recherches qu'il faut espérer voir entreprendre.

Tableau 3. 3[e] pers. sing. des verbes $C_1aC_2aC_3$ *et* $C_1əC_2eC_3$ (*kat(a)bet* "elle a écrit", *ləbset* "elle a mis (un vêtement)") et noms féminins $C_1aC_2aC_3a/e$ (*samake* "un poisson") avec pronom personnel suffixé.

	A	B	C
3[e] pers. sing. verbes $C_1aC_2aC_3$	*kátbet*	*kátabet*	*kátabet*
+ pron. pers. -V(C)	*kátəbto*	*katabə́to*	*katbə́to*
+ pron. pers. -(C)V	*katbəta*	*katabə́to*	*katbə́to*
3[e] pers. sing. verbes $C_1əC_2eC_3$	*ləbset*	*ləbset*	*ləbset*
+ pron. pers.	*lə́bəsto*	*ləbsə́to*	*ləbsə́to*
$C_1aC_2aC_3a/e$	*samake*	*samake*	*samake*
+ pron. pers.	*sáməkt-i/ak/ek/o* *samkə́t-a/na/kon/on*	*samakə́t-i/ak/ek/o/a/na/kon/on*	*samkə́t-i/ak/ek/o/a/na/kon/on*

Cette variante multiple touche, on le voit, des formes constamment utilisées, et révèle l'existence, à Damas même, d'une diversité par ailleurs bien connue à l'échelle des dialectes de la région. Elle a été identifiée par Bohas 1978 (v. en particulier 1/2, p. 32-33 et 1/3, p. 61, 62 et 65 le traitement qu'il en propose dans le cadre de la phonologie générative de l'époque) ; A, B et C distinguent pour lui trois groupes de locuteurs (B et/ou C caractérisant plutôt les—ou des—Chrétiens). Notre propre enquête n'a porté que sur le premier point (3[e] pers. sing. verbes $C_1aC_2aC_3$ seule et avec pron. pers.). Si elle a confirmé sans doute possible l'existence de toutes ces formes (dont on aurait pu douter au vu des descriptions des grammaires)[54], les résultats obtenus permettent de penser que A, B et C pourraient recouvrir plutôt trois systèmes, dont certains locuteurs au moins se servent alternativement, dans des proportions et dans des conditions que nous n'avons pu préciser.

On peut ajouter qu'une autre variante distingue les locuteurs C des locuteurs A et B, pour les 2[e] pers. fém. sing. et les 2[e] et 3[e] pers. pl. de l'inaccompli en $byəC_1C_2e/oC_3$:

[54] Les grammaires en effet ne décrivent que le système A. Dans la littérature, on trouve cependant des exemples de formes B et C, dont il semble qu'elles n'avaient pas attiré l'attention des descripteurs : une dizaine d'exemples dans Oestrup 1897 (p. 56,-3 et -2 ; 60,10 ; 102,10 ; 112,6 etc.), un exemple dans Dietrich 1956 (texte n° 21,4), etc.

A et B : *btəkətbi*, *bt/yəkətbu* ; *btələbsi*, *bt/yələbsu*
C : *btə́ktəbi*, *bt/yəkətbu* ; *btə́lbəsi*, *bt/yələbsu*

et (avec pronoms personnels suffixés):

A et B : *btə́kətbo* etc.
C : *btə́ktəbo* etc.[55]

– *-h-* ou *-w-* / *-y-* /—Ø—dans les pronoms suffixes de 3e pers. fém. sing. et 3e pers. plur.

Cette variante, signalée depuis longtemps par les descripteurs, n'avait jamais été l'objet d'une étude systématique. Elle vient d'être étudiée en détail par H. Ismail pour un quartier de Damas et pour la banlieue nouvelle de Dummar (Ismail 2008).

À Damas, le *h* des pronoms concernés n'est pas en voie de disparition totale (il réapparaît par exemple facilement en contexte d'insistance), mais il est certainement en voie de marginalisation, comme le montrent éloquemment les formes[56] du type *kátaba* "il l'a écrite" (comme *kátabo* "il l'a écrit"), produites en particulier par des jeunes et des enfants, et non *katáb(h)a* des autres locuteurs. Il est même probable que, pour ces locuteurs au moins, on puisse poser la forme *-a* (et non plus *-ha*) pour le pron. pers. suff. de 3e sing. (et *-on* pour la 3e plur.). Il est intéressant de constater que si le *h* était, à l'époque de l'enquête, souvent présent entre deux voyelles (en particulier dans le cas de *-āha*, par ex. *šəfnāha* "nous l'avons vue" ; dans le cas des groupes *-ūha* et *-īha* on entendait souvent *-ūwa* et *-īya* respectivement), la situation s'est modifiée depuis, et l'on peut entendre des formes que rien n'interdit de noter *-āa*, *-ūa* et *-īa* : *šəfnāa*, *xallīa* "laisse-la", *ləffūa* "oubliez l'affaire".

Il faut signaler une forme qui semble récente dans le dialecte[57], parfois attribuée à une influence libanaise[58], qu'il n'est en vérité pas besoin d'invoquer, même si elle peut jouer un rôle adjuvant. Elle peut s'expliquer en effet par les débuts d'une sorte de convergence entre les pronoms suffixes de 3e pers. masc. et fém. qui serait une conséquence de l'évolution *ha* → *a*. Dans un cas précis (au moins) en effet, celui de l'allomorphe *fī-* de la préposition *b(ə)-* avec pron. suffixe, on

[55] Bohas 1978, 1/2, en particulier p. 40 et 55.
[56] *Id.*, 1/1, p. 126 n. 10.
[57] Elle s'est depuis répandue de façon sensible.
[58] La forme existe ailleurs, par exemple à Alep (Sabuni 1980, p. 199,7).

entend (là encore semble-t-il davantage chez les jeunes locuteurs) *fiyo* / *fio* (et non *fī*)[59] : *hal-barrād fiyo šaġlāt ᵊktīre* "ce frigidaire, il y a beaucoup de choses dedans". L'enquête, rapide sur ce point, n'a pu préciser s'il y a des restrictions à l'emploi de cette forme, par exemple en fonction des valeurs sémantiques diverses de *b(ə)-* ou, de sa place dans l'énoncé (elle semble exclue en fin d'énoncé).

– Le relatif peut prendre à Damas, comme cela a été régulièrement signalé dans la littérature, diverses formes : *yalli*, *yälli*, *yəlli*, *ʾəlli*, *əlli*, *lli* et *halli*. Elles sont le plus souvent présentées comme des variantes libres ; *halli* est parfois mis à part. Ambros 1977, p. 89 et tableau p. 43, en a proposé un traitement : *lli*, *əlli* et *ʾəlli* sont des allomorphes (comparables à ceux de l'article) ; *halli*, *yalli* et *yəlli*[60] en sont des variantes libres. Notre enquête, peu poussée sur ce point, n'a pas permis de proposer une analyse satisfaisante de faits d'une complexité redoutable. Nous nous contenterons de suggérer ici que *halli* est probablement une forme ancienne, peut-être unique à une certaine période (elle est fréquente dans les sources anciennes), et qu'elle n'avait sans doute pas la valeur marquée (due à l'élément *ha-*) qu'elle (re)trouve peut-être actuellement.

– Le choix entre construction transitive directe ou indirecte de certains verbes ou, dans ce dernier cas, entre des prépositions régissant leurs compléments, peut varier suivant les locuteurs[61] : *faržīni yā* / *ʿalē* "montre-le moi" en est sans doute un exemple, bien que certains informateurs disent faire entre les deux constructions une différence de sens. Ceci n'est pas exclu, mais le fait fondamental est que la deuxième est plus 'populaire' (certains disent ne jamais l'employer pour cette raison). Un cas similaire est celui du verbe *štāʾ* : *štaʾnā-l-kon* / *ʿalēkon* "vous nous avez manqué". *ma trədd fini* "ne me réponds pas (avec insolence)" est repris par certains, qui diraient *ma trədd ʿalayyi*. Le verbe *saʾal* s'emploie avec *ʿan* ou *ʿala* : *saʾal ʿannak* / *saʾal ʿalēk* "il a demandé si tu étais là, il a demandé à te voir", *saʾal ʿalēk* pouvant signifier aussi "il a demandé de tes nouvelles, etc." ; mais certains informateurs emploient *saʾal ʿalēk* dans les deux cas.

– La préposition (attributive, etc.) *l(a)-* a plusieurs allomorphes : *la-*, *l-*, *-əll-*.[62] Lorsque le syntagme *l-* + pron. pers. est prédicatif,

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[59] Il ne s'agit pas ici de *fi* "il y a".

[60] Encore un exemple de l'alternance *a* / *ə,* et peut-être de la centralisation de *a*.

[61] Les distinctions aspectuelles entre par ex. complément direct et complément avec *b(ə)-* + nom / *fī-*+ pronom sont bien sûr exclues ici.

[62] Pour le détail cf. Cowell 1964, p. 480-481.

et a donc une forme autonome, la préposition est phonétiquement renforcée : *ʾəl-* (*hāda ʾəlak ?* "C'est à toi ?" ; *ʾəlo bēt* "Il a une maison" ; *ʾaddēš ʾəlak nāyem ?* "Ça fait combien de temps que tu dors ?") ; s'il ne peut, pour quelque raison, être suffixé au verbe, on utilise aussi *ʾəl-* (*bišūf-na ʾəli w ʾəlak* "Il nous voit toi et moi").

Or ce syntagme pronominal autonome peut être étoffé par préfixation de *la-* (qui n'apparaît en principe que devant un nom) : *la-ʾəl-o* (litt. "à à lui") "à lui"[63] ; ce nouveau syntagme prépositionnel complexe peut prendre une valeur d'insistance ('à lui, et pas à quelqu'un d'autre') mais est le plus souvent équivalent à la forme sans *la-*. Par contre, il est souvent jugé comme moins relevé stylistiquement. Cette forme *la-ʾəl-i/ak/ek/o/a* etc. faisait, autour de 1980, l'objet d'appréciations diverses ('féminine', 'récente', 'palestinienne', 'ancienne' …). Aujourd'hui [2008] de plus en plus répandue, en particulier chez les jeunes, elle est le plus souvent considérée comme récente, et, assez souvent, comme d'origine libanaise (là encore, le fait qu'elle soit en effet d'un usage plus répandu encore au Liban peut avoir joué un rôle dans son expansion).

9.2. *Variantes lexicales*

– Les formes qu'on pourrait appeler 'lourdes' (augmentées d'un suffixe) de mots outils ou d'adverbes usuels sont jugées 'plus dialectales' (que les formes courtes correspondantes), voire peu esthétiques ; elles sont en effet plus dialectales, et plus populaires ; ex. : *hallaʾtēne*, *hallaʾtīniyye* "maintenant" (cf. *hallaʾ* 'd°') sont senties comme 'populaires' ou 'anciennes'[64]. *kamāniyye* "aussi" (cf. *kamān* 'd°') n'a pas été entendu (cf. Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964, p. 116 n. 2).

– *mūsem* 'saison, époque où on trouve tel ou tel fruit ou légume, etc'. aussi *mōsem* Bergsträsser 1924, p. 93,5 et *mōsam* Kassab 1970, p. 270. Sur 20 inf. interrogés, 16 ont *mūsem*, 3 *mōsem* (dont 1 a aussi

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[63] Le renforcement d'une préposition par une autre est courant (*ʾabəl mənno* "avant lui", etc.) ; v. des exemples § 5, variante 13. Ces nouvelles prépositions composées sont dans certains cas des formes plus populaires ; dans d'autres, elles sont complètement lexicalisées. Dans le cas de *la-ʾəl-*, la particularité est que le renforcement se fait par la répétition de la préposition elle-même.

[64] Malgré l'informatrice de Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964, p. 148 n. 2, pour qui ces formes ne sont pas damascènes. V. cependant *ibid.*, p. 120 n. 3, où il est dit que ces formes ne sont pas rares.

mōsam) ; 1 inf. a *mawsem*. Plusieurs n'emploient pas le mot (ils disent *waʾt*), qui est peut-être un emprunt à des parlers ruraux (cf. *ū* quand on attendrait *ō*).

– *ləxer*, *rəxer*, *l/rəxri*, *l/rāxar* "autre"[65] sont marquées dans certains milieux comme populaires, ce qu'elles sont en effet.

– Souvent, lorsque objets et notions culturels changent, les mots qui les désignent changent aussi ; dans dialecte de Damas, on a souvent une succession emprunt au turc → emprunt à des langues occidentales → mot arabe (formation dialectale ou emprunté au standard, ou l'un puis l'autre, etc.) : *ʾə/iž/zaziyye* → *ṣay/ēdaliyye* "pharmacie" ; *kəzlok* → *ʿwēnāt* → *naḍḍārāt* "lunettes". Il n'est pas rare que les termes anciens restent en service, parfois longtemps, leur emploi se distribuant alors entre groupes d'âge.

– "Chaussures". L'usage standard : *sa/əbbāṭ*, *kəndra* "chaussure d'homme" ; *skarbīne*, *kəndra* "chaussure de femme" ; *bōṭ* "chaussure montante" ; *žazme* "botte". Pour certains informateurs chrétiens, *kəndra* est 'musulman' (c'est parfois aussi le cas de *sabbāṭ*). *bōṭ* est parfois employé, surtout par les anciennes générations, dans le sens de "botte" (une chaussure montante étant alors appelée *nəṣṣ bōṭ*, litt. "demi-botte"). Un autre terme, vieilli, pour "chaussure" est *ṭəbᵊʾ*.[66]

– Une variante lexicale oppose assez nettement les usages chrétien et musulman : il s'agit de l'emploi des mots désignant la louche et l'écumoire. D'après Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964, p. 116 n. 10, *kafkīr* et *ʾaššāše* (cf. Bergsträsser 1924, p. 90,9) sont respectivement les désignations musulmane et chrétienne de l'écumoire. Barbot 1964–, p. 1856 a *kəfkīre* et *ʾaššāše*. Le tableau 4 regroupe les données qui ont pu être rassemblées dans les sources et celles de l'enquête.

Tableau 4. Les mots pour "louche" et "écumoire"
(E = "écumoire", L = "louche" ; C, c = chrétien ; M, m = musulman)

	1. *kəbžāye*	2. *kafkīr(e̱)*	3. *ʾaššāše*
Cañes		L	
Bloch-Grotzfeld 1964		E m	E c
Barbot 1964	?	E̲ m	E c
M_1	L m (C : *kabža*)		

[65] L'article a été incorporé à ces formes, mais le sens est bien "autre" (et non "l'autre") : *wāḥed ləxər* "un autre".

[66] Cf. Barbot 1964–, p. 834, pour qui le terme est 'populaire'.

	1. *kəbžāye*	2. *kafkīr(e̲)*	3. *ʾaššāše*
M_2	L	E (L)	
C_1 et $C_{1'}$	L (m ?)	L̲ c	E c
C_2	(L)	L̲ c	E c
C_3	L c	L̲ m	
Alep (Barthélemy 1935-1955)	L (+ *čämčā̈ye*, Sabuni 1980, p. 170)	E	

Il semble donc qu'on ait une série de trois termes, l'un désignant, lorsqu'il est utilisé, la louche : *kəbžāye* ; *kafkīr* désigne soit la louche, soit l'écumoire (les deux pour l'informatrice $C_{1'}$; *ʾaššāše* étant (pour les C seulement ?) l'écumoire. Les trois combinaisons possibles pour "louche" et "écumoire" sont 1-2, 1-3 et 2-3.

– Selon plusieurs informateurs, l'accentuation du mot *ṣala* "prière" distinguerait les Chrétiens (*ṣála*) des Musulmans (*ṣalá*).

ṣála : 5 inf., dont 2 C et deux FM ; *ṣalá* : 2 inf. / *ṣalā́* : 13 inf. dont une FC ; *ṣálā́*[67] : 5 inf. dont une C.

Dans Ḥasībī 1968-1969, 2e partie, p. 141,5 on trouve الصلا . Il semble qu'on ait affaire à deux mots différents : *ṣála*, peu ou pas employé avec pronom personnel suffixe, et ne changeant pas à l'état construit ; et *ṣalá*, *ṣalā́t-* à l'état construit. Le premier serait plus répandu chez les Chrétiens, le deuxième chez les Musulmans ; *ṣálā́* serait une forme 'intermédiaire'.

– Quelques autres différences lexicales entre Musulmans et Chrétiens. Le tableau 5 rassemble les données recueillies principalement auprès de deux informateurs, un Musulman et un Chrétien. Les paires de lexèmes ainsi rassemblées ne constituent sans doute pas, dans la majorité des cas, des différences d'usage telles qu'elles puissent être utilisées comme critères pour identifier l'appartenance communautaire d'un locuteur.[68] Les plus assurées sont signalées par un *. Les autres indiquent des tendances d'usage, et reflètent en tout cas la conscience linguistique, sinon de l'ensemble des locuteurs, du moins

[67] Il nous a été impossible de déterminer quel est l'accent principal.

[68] Plus généralement, on peut observer qu'aucun informateur ne peut, ni ne le prétend d'ailleurs, déterminer l'origine (de quartier par exemple) d'un interlocuteur damascène. Tout au plus est-il en mesure de diagnostiquer un parler 'traditionnel' et/ou populaire ou, parfois, de suspecter, à tort ou à raison, une appartenance communautaire chrétienne.

des informateurs. Ont été écartées des paires dont l'un des deux éléments est en réalité une forme qui, moins ou mal connue de l'informateur—elle peut être simplement vieillie et/ou très dialectale—a été abusivement attribuée par lui à l'autre communauté que la sienne. De plus, il y a vraisemblablement des cas non repérés comparables à celui de *fəzʿān*, à propos duquel une informatrice chrétienne explique que pour elle ce mot est moins fort que *xāyef*, c'est-à-dire des cas où un locuteur A n'utilisant pas un mot appartenant au lexique des locuteurs B (qui eux ont les deux), le ramène à un des siens et l'étiquette à tort comme son synonyme.

Tableau 5. Quelques différences lexicales entre locuteurs musulmans et chrétiens

sens	'musulman'	'chrétien'
artichaut	*ʾanginār*	*ʾarḍišōki*
caoutchouc	*maṭṭāṭ*	*məġġēṭ*
chausse-pieds*	*sakaža*	*karata*
cour intérieure d'une maison traditionnelle (sol de la –)*	*ʾarḍ əd-dyār*	*(ʾarḍ ᵊ) d-dār*
enceinte (femme)	*ḥāmel*	*ḥəmle*
je pensais que tu …	*ḥassabtak*	*fakkartak*
le voilà	*šaḥḥo*	*ʾaḥḥo*
livres (plur.)	*kətᵊb*	*kətob / kətᵊb*
malade	*marīḍ*	*ḍʿīf*
médecin	*daktōr*	*ḥakīm*
n'est-ce pas	*mu hēk ?*	*ma hēk ?*
oreille*	*ʾədᵊn*	*dēne*
pauvre, à plaindre*	*məskīn*	*ḥazīn*
pétard	*fəttāš(e)*	*fəttēš(e)*
pisser	*ṭaʾʾaš*	*kabban*
pot de chambre	*nūniyye*	*ʾarḍiyye*
que Dieu bénisse (ces jours heureux)	*ʾəṣʾaḷḷa*	*saʾalla*
qui a peur*	*xāyef*	*fəzʿān*
tuyau (souple)*	*barbīš*	*narbīš*
véranda	*baranda*	*varanda*
voiture (à cheval, …)	*ʿarabāye*	*ʿarabiyye*

9.3. *Traits disparus ou en voie de disparition*

– *ʿašənn* "parce que"—seul ou avec pron. pers. suffixe—, est attesté surtout dans Bergsträsser 1924[69], chez qui *ʿašənno* n'apparaît qu'une fois (101,4). Une informatrice chrétienne dit employer *ʿašənno* et *ʿašān* (connus de plusieurs autres inf.). *šənno* "parce que, c'est que"[70] est sans doute en voie de disparition et s'emploie surtout par plaisanterie. *kaʾənno* (sans doute de **kāyen ʾənno*) semble aussi disparu (quand il est employé, c'est avec le sens de son homonyme standard : "comme si").

– *hu* et *hi* comme formes brèves de *huwwe* et *hiyye* (pron. 3^e^ pers. masc. et fém. sing.) semblent aussi quasiment disparus ; cf. pour *hu* Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964, p. 126,6[71] et pour *hi id*, p. 120,19 (et, quarante ans auparavant, Bergsträsser 1924 p. 67,13).

– *šīt* : cette particule (autre forme : *šiyāt*, semble avoir été longtemps utilisée comme 'particule génitive' avant d'être largement supplantée par *tabaʿ*. Pour Cowell 1964, p. 490, elle est encore 'commune'. Dans un seul des exemples recensés[72] (Malinjoud 1924, p. 279 ligne17), *šīt / šiyāt* est suivi d'un pronom personnel suffixe ; dans tous les autres il est suivi d'un nom. Ce n'est sans doute pas hasard, *šīt-i/ ak/ …* étant une désignation euphémistique et familière du sexe de l'homme ou de la femme.[73]

– *ʾēno* etc. interrogatif ("(le)quel ?")

ʾēno, *ʾēna* et les formes composées *ʾēnu*, *ʾēni* etc. semblent avoir été longtemps les formes les plus courantes de cet interrogatif. On en trouve plusieurs exemples dans Callenberg 1729 et 1740 (écrits *ʾayn*, *ʾaynah*, *ʾaynā*). Oestrup 1897 a *ʾēnhu* (52,15) et *ʾēnhi* (90,-1). Huart 1883, p. 57 donne *ʾēna*, *ʾana*, *ʾēnahu*, *ʾanahu/i*, Lemée 1938, p. 90

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[69] V. Bloch 1965, § 22b, avec une dizaine de références, auxquelles on peut ajouter 86,16 ; 93,21 ; 95,12 et 13 ; 97,39 ; 98,24-25 ; 99,20.

[70] À distinguer de *ši ʾənno* "dès que".

[71] Transcrit *hū*, mais on entend distinctement *hō* dans l'enregistrement de la pièce de Ḥikmat Muḥsen en notre possession, qui est visiblement de meilleure qualité que celui dont ont pu disposer les transcripteurs et traducteurs de ce texte.

[72] Déjà Ḥasībī 1968-1969, 1^e^ partie 71,-1 ; 2^e^ partie 134,-4 ; 139,-6 ; 144,-6 (*šīt*) et 145,-3 (*š(i)yāt*). Oestrup 1897, p. 90,20 ; 96,3 ; Lemée 1938, p. 81 ; Malinjoud 1924, p. 261,-2 ; 278,3 ; 279,17 ; Bergsträsser 1924, p. 102,28 ; Saussey 1937-1938, p. 20,13 ; Bloch & Grotzfeld 1964, p. 54,29 ; 56,26 ; 118,35 (2 fois) ; 182, 30 pour *šīt* et 54,28 et 56,22 pour *šiyāt*.

[73] Dans les années trente, les deux emplois étaient distincts : ainsi Jean Lecerf (voir n. 19 ci-dessus) notait-il *šīti* "à, de moi", *šíyi* "obscène" ; de même Lemée 1938, p. 81 : *šiya / šīt* "sexe de la femme". On comparera à : *šēto*, *šayyəta* "machin, au sens obscène" à Alep (Barthélemy 1935-1969, p. 422).

ʾēno, *ʾēni/e* et tome 2 p. 93 *ʾéyney*. Grotzfeld 1964, p. 49-50, rapproche les formes actuelles (*ʾanu* et *ʾani*)[74] de *ʾaynu/i* ou *ʾēnu/i* passées à *ʾanu/i* dans des dialectes auxquels celui de Damas aurait pu les emprunter, et invoque le fait que *ʾanu/i* aurait seulement un emploi adjectival (et non pronominal). Mais les attestations qui viennent d'être citées, et la possibilité, au moins actuelle, d'employer *ʾanu/i* pour "lequel, laquelle ?" portent à y voir plutôt des formes autochtones.

– La préposition *mšaʾʾīt* "à côté de" (cf. Lemée 1938, p. 142 : *mšēʾit*, *mšaʾit* et, 'rare' : *bšaʾit*) est jugée 'très vieillie' par plusieurs informateurs, mais elle est en réalité encore employée. D'après un informateur, on entend aussi *bšaʾʾīt* et *bšaʾʾīt-əl-mən*.

– On signalera pour finir des formes de noms de nombres en passe d'être supplantées par d'autres, qui alternaient auparavant davantage avec elles : *sātet* "sixième" s'efface devant *sādes*, *tmānye* "huit" devant *tmāne* et *ḥdaʿš* "onze" devant *ʾidaʿš*.

En guise de conclusion

Comme il a été dit en conclusion du § 5, une réelle diversité linguistique règne à Damas, même si elle est d'une ampleur relativement limitée ; et c'est une diversité en mouvement. Les paramètres sociaux que nous avions choisi de privilégier comme critères dans l'analyse (quartier d'origine, sexe et appartenance communautaire) jouent en effet un rôle dans l'origine, le maintien et l'évolution de cette diversité.

Quartiers : la vieille ville, si elle est certes ouverte aux innovations, est relativement conservatrice. Le Mīdān l'est aussi, différemment ; on y relève une prononciation plus 'emphatique' des voyelles, qui va de pair avec l'absence de centralisation de *a*. Les autres quartiers traditionnels, extra muros, à l'ouest, sont des quartiers carrefour, qui s'apparentent tantôt à la vieille ville, tantôt au Mīdān, tantôt aux quartiers plus récents. C'est dans ces derniers que la situation est le plus mélangée.

Sexe : l'impression d'emphase forte que donne souvent le langage des femmes vient sans doute, comme on l'a vu, du fait qu'elles utilisent un plus large éventail de timbres vocaliques que les hommes.

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[74] *ʾanu* tend de plus en plus à devenir la forme unique. On entend aussi pour le pluriel la forme *ʾanon*, mais elle est considérée comme 'vieillie'.

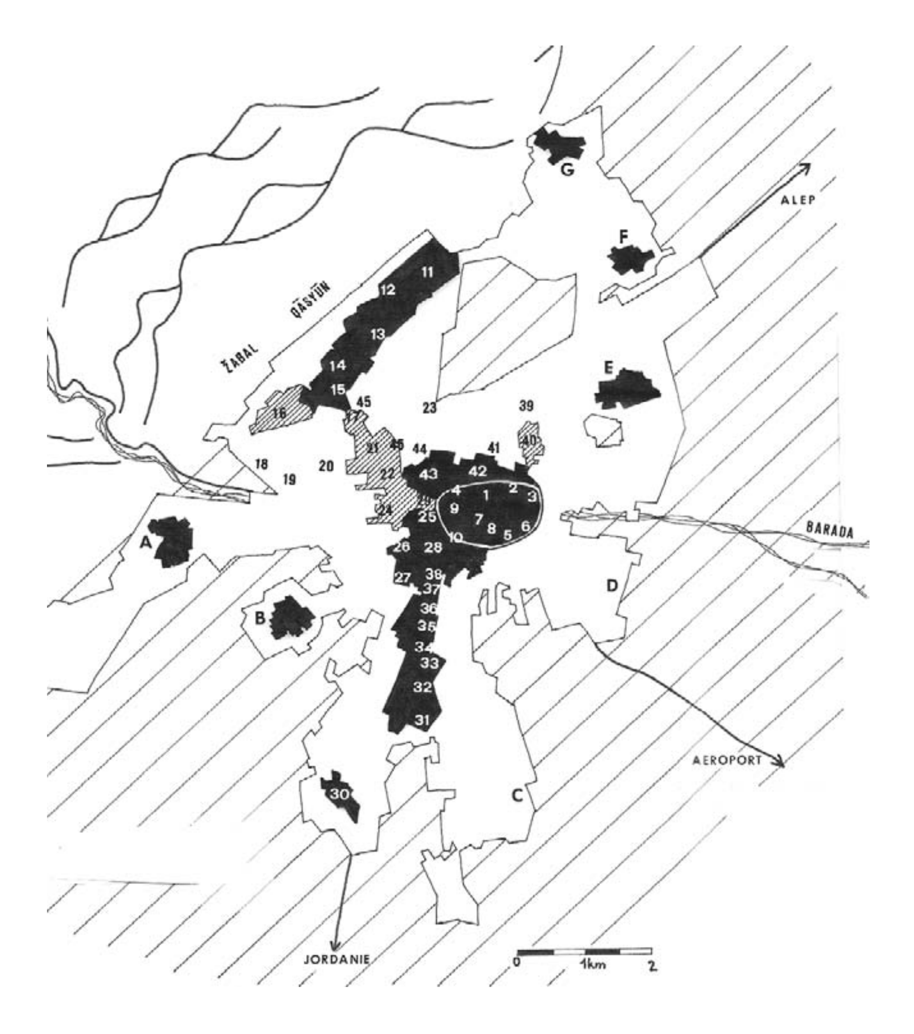
Appartenance communautaire : peut-être une des réalités le plus immédiatement perceptibles est-elle que les Chrétiens présentent des particularités (qu'ils partagent peut-être avec les Juifs) ; les différences lexicales entre eux et les Musulmans concernent souvent les noms d'objets de la vie courante. Enfin, les Chrétiens, surtout dans la vieille ville, ont conservé souvent des formes anciennes, et c'est souvent aussi par leur intermédiaire qu'elles connaissent une nouvelle fortune.

Ces paramètres sont évidemment en interaction permanente. Ils ne sont sans doute plus aujourd'hui aussi déterminants que par le passé, les structures et les ségrégations sociales qui leur donnaient leur poids connaissant des mutations profondes. Il était donc légitime, tant qu'il en était encore temps, de leur donner une certaine priorité comme instruments d'analyse, et de s'en aider pour éclaircir des problèmes dont les données, dans un avenir peut-être pas éloigné, seront davantage encore obscurcies.

Si on confronte la réalité sociolinguistique à la représentation que s'en font les locuteurs, et aux appréciations qu'il en donnent, on s'aperçoit que celles-ci sont justes dans l'ensemble, une fois la part faite des généralisations hâtives, inévitables dans la description d'un réel qu'on n'appréhende jamais dans sa totalité. On est cependant frappé d'une certaine méconnaissance réciproque entre groupes de la société. Du coup, et dans le même temps, des variantes reflétant d'importants changements linguistiques en cours échappent à la conscience linguistique des locuteurs.

L'identification de formes ou de traits en voie de disparition (cf. § 5 et très sommairement § 9.2.) pose à nouveau, implicitement, le problème de la norme dialectale. On constate que des formes que les informateurs eux-mêmes appellent 'lourdes', et d'autres jugées plus éloignées de la norme standard, tendent, non pas à disparaître, mais à être davantage marquées comme dialectales (du moins dans les milieux sociaux touchés par notre enquête). Certaines vont se confiner au registre 'populaire', d'autres seront, dans certaines circonstances, laissées momentanément de côté par les locuteurs, un peu comme un provincial dissimule des traits qu'il sait stigmatisés ; mais ici c'est le natif de la capitale qui, dans la capitale même, dont le langage constitue par ailleurs une norme de référence pour l'ensemble de la Syrie, adopte ce type de comportement.

L'âge et la classe sociale (qui déterminent une façon de se situer par rapport à la culture, et donc à la langue) sont évidemment des



La ville de Damas vers 1980. En noir: quartiers et villages anciens, en hachures rapprochées: débuts de l'extension moderne; en blanc: extension vers 1980; en hachures espacées: Ġūṭa.
Carte: Irène Labeyrie, d'après A.-M. Bianquis 1980, p. 365.
Quartiers cités dans le texte: ʾAbᵊr ʿĀtke 27, ʾAbu Rummāne 19, l-ʾAkrād 12, l-ʿAmāra 4, (ḥayy) əl-ʾAmīn 5, l-ʾAnawāt 24, l-ʾAṣṣāʿ 40, Bāb əs-Srīže 26, Bāb Tūma 3, Bāb əž-Žābye 25), l-ʾĒmariyye 1, l-Ḫarāb 8, l-Mālki 18, l-Mazraʿa 23, lə-Mhāžrīn 16, l-Mīdān 31 à 38, Rawḍa (entre l-Mālki 18 et ž-Žisᵊr 17), Rəkn əd-dīn 11, Šēx Muḥyəddīn 15, š-Šāġūr 10, ṣ-Ṣālḥiyye 45, Sūʾ Sarūža 43, š-Šaʿlān 20, ž-Žisᵊr 17.

paramètres tout aussi importants, et ils auraient sans doute dû être pris plus systématiquement en compte. Espérons que cette étude aura pu suggérer des pistes de recherche pour des recherches futures, parmi beaucoup d'autres qui restent à identifier.[75] Il faudra aussi à l'avenir prendre en compte la Ġūṭa de Damas. Des sondages trop rapides nous ont permis de mesurer la grande diversité linguistique qui y règne (peut-être en régression aujourd'hui [2008]) et les grandes différences que présentent ses dialectes par rapport à celui de la capitale. Cette situation est à mettre en regard d'une autre, bien connue mais importante : nombre de faits, de variantes, … observés à Damas, se retrouvent—certes avec des significations sociolinguistiques différentes—dans d'autres villes du Proche Orient, comme nous l'avons rappelé à plusieurs reprises. On a souvent observé qu'à beaucoup d'égards ces dialectes sont relativement proches (ce concept de 'proximité' demanderait à être élaboré) les uns des autres, et en tout cas davantage que ne l'est chacun d'eux des dialectes (ruraux) qui l'environnent. Le fait reste pourtant encore insuffisamment expliqué. Pour toutes ces raisons il faut souhaiter que se multiplient les recherches sociolinguistiques, sur Damas comme sur toutes ces villes. Ce n'est que dans une perspective comparative qu'on comprendra mieux leurs situations présentes et passées, et qu'on progressera dans la description et l'analyse des changements linguistiques d'aujourd'hui.

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[75] Comme l'a fait Ismail (2008) pour les réalisations de /r/.

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CONTACT PHENOMENA

CONTACT, ISOLATION, AND COMPLEXITY IN ARABIC

Peter Trudgill

1. Introduction

The role of language contact in linguistic change seems to have caused considerable perplexity and bewilderment in the historical linguistics and sociolinguistics literature in the last decades.[1] There may be total consensus amongst scholars that language contact can have structural consequences for the languages involved, but what seems to be confusing or controversial is what the nature of those consequences might be. Nowhere is this more true than in the issue of simplification versus complexification. The fact is that some linguists are convinced that language contact leads to simplification; and others are equally convinced that it leads to complexification.

It is perhaps still necessary to say that, in this discussion, the terms *simplification* and *complexification* imply no value judgements of any kind. Contemporary linguistics is happy to accept that some languages may in some sense be more or less complex than others, since it is clear that we are working with technical definitions of simplicity and complexity that have no connection whatsoever with factors such as cognitive and expressive adequacy.

This controversy about the structural consequences of contact has been wryly commented on by Thomason, who observes that there is a common proposal in the literature that "contact-induced change leads to simplification, not complication" (2001: 64) and that "the opposite claim has also been made—namely, that interference always complicates the system" (2001: 65). She quite rightly points out that, obviously, "all the examples that support the claim that interference leads to simplification are of course counterexamples to the opposite claim" (2001: 65).

[1] Thanks for their help with this paper to Chryso Hadjidemetriou, Bruce Ingham, and Jonathan Owens.

2. Simplification

Proponents of the "contact-leads-to-simplification" view very often point out that the simplest languages in the world are obviously pidgins and thus creoles, and that these languages are equally obviously the result of language contact. Then, the argument goes, we can see the same type of process which leads to the development of pidgins occurring to a less drastic extent in other languages which have experienced contact but to a lesser degree.

Following on from pioneering work by Ferguson (1971) and Mühlhäusler (1974), it seems clear that linguistic simplification consists of a diachronic development that involves as its major processes the following (Trudgill 1996):

a. an increase in regularity
b. an increase in transparency
c. a reduction in redundancy, which in turn consists of (i) the loss of morphological categories, and (ii) the loss of syntagmatic redundancy i.e. repetition of grammatical information, as with agreement.

Typically, pidgin and creole languages have no irregularity, high transparency, no morphological categories, and no syntagmatic redundancy.

For less drastic developments along the same line in languages which are not pidgins and creoles, we can note examples from the history of English such as:

a. the loss of irregular past tense forms such as *rew* as the preterite of *row;* and the loss of irregular nominal plurals such as *kine* as the plural of *cows*
b. the loss of *thrice* and its replacement by the more transparent *three times*; and the (currently ongoing) gradual replacement of *seldom* by *not often.*
c. (i) the loss of the dual number, and grammatical gender; and (ii) the loss of person and number agreement on verbs

Many of the developments in English of this type have been ascribed by sociohistorical linguists to the influence of language contact, notably contact with Old Norse. For example, Milroy (1992: 203) writes of the trend towards simplification in the transition from Old English to Middle English that "it seems clear that such a sweeping change is at least to some extent associated with *language contact*". Poussa has it that contact with Old Scandinavian was responsible for "the fundamental changes which took place between standard literary OE

and Chancery Standard English" such as the loss of grammatical gender and the extreme simplification of inflexions" (Poussa 1982:84). Kroch et al (1995) make precisely the same point; and so does McWhorter (2007: 90ff). And there has long been general support for this kind of approach to simplification in language generally: the Norwegian linguist Hans Vogt (1948: 39) wrote six decades ago that "on observe souvent qu'une langue ….. perd des distinctions formelles, dans des circonstances qui rendent l'hypothese d'influence étrangère assez naturelle".

3. Complexification

However, as we have already noted, there is also very considerable support for the view that contact leads to complexification—which obviously involves the reverse of the developments associated with simplification: an increase in irregularity, opacity, morphological categories, and syntagmatic redundancy.

For example, Nichols (1992) examines morphological complexity in 174 different languages from all parts of the world and from a very wide range of language families—where morphological complexity refers to the morphological marking of syntactic relations: "any form of inflection, affixation, cliticisation, or other overt morphological variation that signals some relevant relation, function, or meaning" (1992: 48).

Nichols develops a method for quantifying this complexity, and shows that of the languages in her sample those with the highest degrees of complexity are the Sumerian and Akkadian, Mangarayi and Djingili (Australia), Basque, and Southern Sierra Miwok (USA). The least complex languages are !Kung, Chitimacha and Zuni (USA), Gilyak/Nivkh (Sakhalin), Mixtec, Miao/Hmong, and Mandarin Chinese.

Nichols compares languages which occur in *spread zones* to those which occur in *residual zones*. Spread zones show little genetic diversity, low structural diversity, a history of rapid spreading of languages; and typically have an innovating centre and a conservative periphery, and no long-term increase in diversity. Examples are western Europe (Indo-European), central Australia (Pama-Nyungan), interior North America (Algonquian and Siouan), and central Oceania (Austronesian). Residual zones have high genetic diversity,

high structural diversity, no appreciable spread of languages or families, no obvious innovation centre, and a long-term increase in diversity. Examples are the Caucasus, the Pacific North West, the Balkans, and New Guinea.

Nichols then writes (1992: 192) that languages in "spread zones show lower complexity relative to their continents" while residual zone languages show higher complexity. Moreover, most "high-complexity languages are in areas of considerable linguistic diversity and contact". Her crucial conclusion from this is that "contact among languages fosters complexity, or, put differently, diversity among neighbouring languages fosters complexity in each of the languages".

Nichols claim is, then, that morphological complexity is promoted by language contact because languages in contact borrow morphological categories from one another. In other words, this is not replacive borrowing, such as the replacement of the Old English third-person plural pronouns by the Old Norse pronouns, but *additive* borrowing, where features are acquired from other languages in addition to already existing features.

Many other examples could be given. For example, Aikhenvald (2002) shows that the Brazilian Arawakan language, which has been in long-term contact with a number of languages of the East Tucano branch of the Tucano language family, has acquired a whole system of evidential morphology from East Tucano. Foley (1986) suggests that switch-reference morphology may have spread from the Papuan language Enga into the non-related language Alamblak (1986: 267). In Europe, as is well-known, Slavic languages generally do not have definite articles, but Bulgarian and Macedonian have acquired them as a result of contact in the Balkan Sprachbund. And, similarly, Upper Sorbian has acquired definite articles as a result of contact with German (Stone 2002)

So, as Dahl (2004: 127) says, "contact-induced change" leads to the spread of grammatical elements from one language to another and, as a consequence, languages which have experienced relatively high degrees of contact are more likely to demonstrate relatively higher degrees of additive complexity than languages which have not.

4. Two Types of Contact

Language contact, then, can fairly obviously be associated with both simplification *and* complexification. The controversy would appear to be a non-controversy, in that both points of view are clearly correct. But how are we to understand this? Why does language contact sometimes lead to simplification, and sometime the reverse? In Trudgill (2009) I have proposed a solution to this puzzle from the perspective of sociolinguistic typology—a term which is to be understood as referring to an attempt to provide sociolinguistic insights into the distribution of linguistic features over the world's languages. The thesis on which sociolinguistic typology is founded is that different types of society and social structure may tend to produce different types of language and linguistic structure.

In this case, a sociolinguistic-typological perspective suggests that if contact produces different types of outcome, then we have to suppose that we are dealing with sociolinguistically different types of contact. As Owens (2006 :118) quite rightly says, "intensive contact with foreigners alone does not imply simplification".

If we have two different types of outcome, then a useful assumption is that we are dealing with two different types of contact. In fact, the solution proposed in Trudgill (2009) rests quite simply on the fact that while young children are excellent language learners, adults are not. As Trask (1999: 63) says, "young children learn perfectly any language to which they are adequately exposed… [while] few adults can perform the same feat".

The solution to the puzzle is therefore that language contact situations involving (especially short-term) imperfect adult language acquisition are relatively more likely to produce simplification, the most extreme though least usual instances being in the case of pidgins. Changes such as reduction in morphological categories, grammatical agreement and other repetitions, as well as increase in regularity and transparency, make for greater ease of adult learnability. On the other hand, contact leading to complexification will be of a different type. Additive complexity will tend to develop in stable, long-term, co-territorial contact situations which involve efficient childhood mutual bilingualism or trilingualism etc., small children being able to cope with any degree of linguistic complexity.

In the context of the present volume, I now turn to an examination of the two different types of language contact in Arabic, as these have

occurred in different sociolinguistic situations, in an attempt to see if data from this language can help to strengthen this proposal.

5. Contact-induced Simplification in Arabic

What evidence is there that contact has led to simplification in Arabic?

The clearest cases are, as one would expect, the Arabic-based pidgins and creoles, as outlined in Owens (1997). The Nubi Arabic creole of southern Sudan/northern Uganda has received particular attention (Heine 1982; Musa-Wellens 1994; Owens 1985, 1995, 2001). Nubi has relatively high transparency compared to other varieties of Arabic, and it has experienced a "radical loss of morphology" (Kusters 2003: 149), having eight inflectional categories as opposed, for example, to 45 in Western Sudanese Arabic (Owens 2001: 366).

Owens (2001: 349) illustrates the simplification that has occurred in Nubi with a number of examples, including that of imperfect verb forms. Unlike other varieties of Arabic, in these forms Nubi has no person, gender or number marking, and a total absence of ablaut. The effects of simplification can be seen very clearly by comparing the Nubi imperfect verb paradigm with that of Eastern Libyan Arabic:

	E. Libyan	*Nubi*
'I write'	a-ktub	ana gi-katifu
'you (s.) write'	ti-ktib	ita gi-katifu
'you (s) write (f.)'	ti-kitb-i	
'he writes'	yi-ktib	uwo gi-katifu
'she writes'	ti-ktib	
'we write'	ni-kitb-u	ina gi-katifu
'you (pl.) write (m.)'	ti-kitb-u	itakum gi-katifu
'you (pl.) write (f.)'	ti-kitb-an	
'they write (m.)'	yi-kitb-u	umwon gi-katifu
'they write (f.)'	yi-kitb-an	

As can be seen, simplification has the consequence that the Nubi paradigm is entirely regular and analytic. The verb form is invariant throughout, with person and number indicated solely by pronoun subjects, and gender not marked at all. The invariant *gi*- prefix is a progressive marker.

It is well known that Nubi arose as a result of massive language contact and a break in normal transgenerational transition. According to Owens (1997) and Kusters (Kusters 2003), Nubi originated in a pidgin Arabic which developed, in the second half of the 19th century in the southern Sudan, out of interaction between speakers of local Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan languages, which were not mutually intelligible, in what were essentially refugee camps housing defeated troops from an Egyptian-led army which had been attempting a conquest of southern Sudan.

Contact-induced simplification in non-creole varieties of Arabic generally has been a more controversial topic. Versteegh's (1984) suggestion that contact-induced simplification had occurred did not by any means meet with immediate approval. In the light of Kusters (2003) and McWhorter (2007), however, the fact that contact has been responsible for some of the simplifications which Arabic has undergone would now seem to be incontrovertibly established. And the contact we are thinking about here is the contact which ensued from the expansion of Arabic out of the Arabian peninsula and the language shift to Arabic from North African and Middle Eastern languages which followed. The assumption is that the relatively rapid acquisition by large numbers of adults of Arabic in contact situations, followed in subsequent generations by the loss of the indigenous languages and total shift to the newly and somewhat simplified colonial language, was the main mechanism involved.

The work of Kusters is especially persuasive in this respect. In his book, the link between contact and simplification is very ably demonstrated, in detail and quantitatively. He examines the history of degrees of complexity and simplicity in verbal inflectional morphology in Quechua, Swahili, and the Scandinavian languages as well as Arabic. For Arabic, he measures simplification in three different varieties in terms of the degree to which they have undergone developments such as *loss of dual number*—the loss of a morphological category—and *decrease in allomorphy*—an increase in transparency. His highly detailed quantitative analyses lead him to conclude that "the level of [linguistic] complexity is related to the type of speech community" (2003:59) in that language varieties with a history of higher contact also tend to demonstrate higher degrees of simplification. He shows that all forms of Modern Arabic demonstrate at least some simplification as compared to Classical Arabic, but that some have undergone much more contact than others, and therefore

have much more simplification. In addition to Nubi, he also discusses the Najdi Arabic of central Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1994a), and Moroccan Arabic (Caubet 1993; Holes 1995). Just as Moroccan Arabic has more complexity than Nubi, so Najdi has more complexity than Moroccan. This is because, although Moroccan Arabic has a continuous tradition of maintenance of native speakers and normal transgenerational transmission, it has also experienced considerable contact. First, dialect contact took place as a result of the migrations to Morocco from different parts of the Arabian peninsula and Egypt in the 7th and then again in the 10th centuries, with speakers of different regional dialects coming into contact in the new location. Secondly, there was very considerable language contact in Morocco, most especially with speakers of the different indigenous Berber languages. In the case of Najdi, however, there has been no migration, and relatively little contact.

The conclusion is that different degrees of simplification have occurred in different Arabic varieties to the extent that adult language learning and dialect contact have also occurred.

6. Contact-induced Complexification in Arabic

It is not the case, however, that contact has led only to simplification in the history of Arabic. As the hypothesis outlined above would lead us to expect, in different types of sociolinguistic situation complexification has also occurred.

One example of this is provided by Maltese. Malta is only approximately 50 miles/90 kilometres from Sicily, and the two islands were united politically for over 400 years, from 1090 to 1530, and contacts remained close after that. It is therefore not surprising that, as is well known, Sicilian influence on Maltese has been very considerable, notably on the lexis (Aquilina 1959). But Heine and Kuteva (2005: 151-2) suggest that Maltese has also experienced grammatical influence from southern Romance. In particular, Heine and Kuteva suggest that Maltese did indeed acquire additional contact-induced complexity through the addition of a new morphological marker which is lacking from other Western Arabic varieties—although Maltese is sociolinguistically no longer a variety of Arabic, linguistically it is very clearly a Western Arabic dialect.

Following Borg and Mifsud (2002:34), Heine and Kuteva show that Maltese marks human definite direct objects with the indirect object marker, translated below as "to", while inanimate objects receive no object marking. The examples they cite are:

> *il-tifel ra lil Marija*
> The-boy saw to Mary

compared to

> *Marija qabdet il-ballun*
> Mary caught the-ball

This parallels the familiar Spanish distinction of:

> *el chico vió a María*
> The boy saw to Mary

compared to

> *María cogió la pelota*
> Mary caught the ball

But, in fact the actual source in this case is very likely to be Sicilian. Heine and Kuteva tell us that of Western Romance that "in a vast area stretching from Portuguese and Spanish through popular French to southern Italian, instances of direct object marking can be found, involving the preposition 'to' and being involved with animate and definite participants (Borg and Mifsud 2002: 42)". Crucially, in Old Sicilian, constructions such as

> *truvau a Micheli*
> He-found to Michael

were usual.

As noted above, this Maltese phenomenon does not occur in any of the western dialects of Arabic to which Maltese is closely related, and Borg and Mifsud therefore suggest that its occurrence in Maltese may well be due to influence from southern Romance. Heine and Kuteva concur that it is very likely that it developed as a result of "intense language contact with Romance languages". And of course the most obvious source is Sicilian.

Even more telling examples of this same type of phenomenon come from Central Asian Arabic. The first Arabic speakers migrated to the area of what is now Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and northern Afghanistan in the 8th century, during the Muslim expansion. It is

important for our purposes that speakers of the language have therefore been in contact with speakers of the Turkic language Uzbek and of the Indo-Iranian language Tardif for more than 1,200 years. Ingham (1994b) stresses that "this area is in fact one of considerable linguistic diversity" which is "on the border of the Indo-European and Altaic language areas". As a consequence, there was very considerable influence from these languages, particularly Tardif, on the local Arabic (Versteegh 1984:6).

According to the thesis being considered here, this type of prolonged co-territorial contact should have led to complexification, and indeed this does seem to be the case. Ingham shows that, crucially, some of the borrowing from the other languages which Afghan Arabic demonstrates is of the additive type: Arabic acquired features from its co-territorial neighbours while maintaining original Arabic features. Notable examples of this kind of complexification are:

1. The pattern *relative clause* + *noun* occurs "alongside the original Arabic *noun* + *relative clause*" (Owens 2001:355). That is, Central Asian Arabic has two relative clause structures, compared to mainstream Arabic's one.

2. Similarly, we see "the construction *possessor* + possessed occurring alongside the Arabic *possessed* + *possessor*" (Owens 2001: 355). Again there are two structures as opposed to the original single structure.

3. An interrogative suffix *-mi* is attached to verbs to perform the function of question-formation, which is "presumably identical with the Turkish suffix *-mi* of the same function" (Ingham 1994b). Ingham supplies the examples:

hint battīxa kalinnak-mi	*Have you eaten the water melon?*
sōġ amōn hastinnak-mi	*Are you healthy and well?*

4. Ingham also informs us that "postpositions which occur in Turkish but not in Persian are represented in Afghan Arabic". Those which Ingham recorded are *–jimīᶜ* 'with, together with';
-xila(f) 'after', and *-giddām* 'before':

faras-jimīᶜ	*by horse, with horses*
ᶜašar daqīqa-xilā(f)	*in ten minutes*
min nayamān-giddām	*before sleeping*

Conclusion

There is, then, evidence, that the two different types of language contact have indeed given rise to two different kinds of outcome in Arabic in terms of complexification and simplification. Of course, the dichotomy I have suggested between the two different kinds of contact is itself a serious simplification of what actually happens on the ground in real-life situations. Obvious complicating factors include the following:

> one type of contact can chronologically be succeeded by the other in the same location;
> the two types of contact can overlap chronologically, and the proportions of speakers of different ages will be very relevant;
> the degree of contact may vary considerably between different situations;
> the terms "long-term" and "short-term" are very vague with, for example, "long-term" covering periods from thousands of years down to much shorter periods;
> linguistic factors are not irrelevant—for instance, the degree of relatedness of languages in contact may important.

An acceptance of this distinction between the two main types of contact and their different outcomes would also raise another important sociolinguistic-typological issue. We can suppose that varieties which experience little or no contact, like Najdi, will tend to maintain existing levels of complexity fairly well in the absence of contact-induced simplification and complexification. But this still leaves us with the issue of, to put it simply, where complexity comes from in the first place. What can we say about the spontaneous development of complexity? What do we know about the sociolinguistics of the process of *non-additive* complexification? A reasonable assumption must be that this too is chiefly associated with low-contact language varieties (in which case of course we can predict that linguistic complexity is likely to decrease in the future).[2]

Arabic support for this thesis may be provided by a suggestion made by Owens. Owens (2006: 115) argues that "it is assumed that case-marking in Semitic is a younger trait than nominals lacking case marking on the basis of the Afroasiatic evidence" and "since caseless forms can be comparatively reconstructed at least as early as the

[2] The sociolinguistic typology of spontaneous complexification is the subject matter of Trudgill (2008); and of Trudgill (forthcoming).

seventh/eighth centuries, from the time of the Arabic diaspora, they are minimally as old as the case-Arabic described by Sibawaih, and hence can be projected into proto-Arabic as well" (2006:116). Given that Classical Arabic had case-marking, the inference has to be that Arabic gradually developed case-marking at a time when the language was spoken by a rather small number of speakers, and most likely in a sparsely populated, low-contact area of the Arabian peninsula. But this is of course at this stage pure, if not totally uninformed, speculation.

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LOAN VERBS IN ARABIC AND THE DO-CONSTRUCTION

Kees Versteegh

Cross-linguistically, it seems to be true that it is easier to borrow nouns than verbs. Moravcsik (1975) even goes so far as to maintain that verbs cannot be borrowed at all: in her view, loan verbs first have to be nominalized before they can be used in the borrowing language. As we shall see below, this claim is exaggerated: while the overwhelming majority of loans is nominal in nature, there are examples of successful borrowing of verbs. In this paper, we shall be concerned with the question of how different varieties of Arabic deal with verbal borrowing. Generally speaking, two strategies are involved. The first strategy consists in the morphological integration of a foreign verbal form. The second strategy consists in incorporating a foreign (verbal) noun or verb with the help of a light verb or dummy verb meaning 'to do'; this will be referred to here as the DO-construction.

In Muyskens' (2000) typology of code-mixing, these two strategies are analyzed as two different modes of code-mixing: the morphological integration of a verbal form is a form of insertion, whereas the construction with a light verb is a form of alternation. Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004:1444-1445; 2007:86) emphasise that these different modes belong to different social contexts, and are subject to different constraints. In insertion, foreign material is inserted within a matrix belonging to one language that is primarily activated; this type of code-mixing is more related to borrowing and takes place when there is a clear asymmetry between the speakers' proficiency in the two languages. In alternation, the elements before and after the switch are not structurally related, and the two languages involved may be said to be activated alternately; according to them, this is what happens in stable bilingual communities.

A different terminology is used by Boumans (2007), who discusses the contexts in which borrowing takes place in terms of the 'social dominant language', i.e. the language to which individual speakers are most exposed in their daily life (2007:291). The socially dominant

language may be either the community language, in which the borrowings are embedded, or the superimposed language, from which the borrowings derive. On the basis of examples from Greek and Portuguese code-mixing with English in two different contexts, Boumans concludes (2007:307) that "all other things being equal, morphological integration is the norm in homeland settings where the matrix language is socially dominant, while the periphrastic construction [i.e. the DO-construction] is found in migrant communities where the embedded language is dominant".

Others focus on a diachronic interpretation of the strategies involved in loan verb borrowing. Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2005), for instance, set up a hierarchy describing the diachronic ordering of borrowing strategies for verbs in general. They distinguish between four types:

i. the light verb strategy consisting in the use of a dummy verb, usually a verb meaning 'to do'
ii. indirect insertion consisting in the use of a special affix for borrowed verbs
iii. direct insertion, consisting in the integration of loan verbs in the morphological structure of the receiving language
iv. paradigm transfer, in which the loan verb is taken over with its own morphology.

Their Loan Verb Assimilation Hierarchy assumes that the first three strategies are increasingly higher degrees of assimilation. The fourth strategy is regarded by them as a special case because in this strategy the foreign verb is not assimilated at all; still, they regard it as part of the hierarchy, probably coming at the end of the process.

The term 'diachronic' in the context of borrowing may give rise to some confusion. The selection of borrowing strategies is carried out by the speakers within a certain sociolinguistic and communicational context. They are confronted with the problem of having to take over morphologically complicated elements from the embedded language, and their performance depends on their proficiency in both languages. This is not a matter of diachronic development, in the sense of a language going through several stages and undergoing certain processes. Obviously, the result of these strategies may become conventionalised and thus, become part of the repertoire of the entire speech community. When, in the course of the community's history, speakers of the language apply different strategies, this results in a layering of the loanwords, reflecting the stages the speakers have

gone through. The existence of these different layers may give the impression of a diachronic development in the language itself, whereas in reality the speakers have made different choices at different times.

Speakers of Arabic, too, have used different strategies for the incorporation of foreign material in different contexts. The integration of loanwords in the root-and-pattern system of Arabic goes back to the Classical period, and has given rise to many denominal verbs, e.g. *tawwaja* 'to crown', formed after Persian *tāj* 'crown', or *falsafa* 'to philosophize' from Greek *philósophos* 'philosopher'. This procedure has remained current throughout the history of Arabic, as demonstrated by recent denominal verbs like *talfana* 'to call by telephone' of *fakkasa* 'to fax'.

In the case of these examples, foreign verbs were not borrowed directly, but derived from a previously borrowed noun. Direct morphological integration of verbal loans in Arabic takes place when these are borrowed from languages like Aramaic/Syriac or Ivrit, which have a similar non-concatenative lexical structure. Thus, we find, for instance, in Lebanese Arabic *naṭar* 'to guard' (< Syriac *nṭar*) (Retsö 2006), and in Palestinian Arabic *yiṭabbal* 'he takes care' (< Ivrit *yitapel*); *yišaxbel* 'he duplicates' (< Ivrit *yišaxpel*) (Amara 2007). Berber, whose structure is rather different from that of Arabic, still preserves enough of the non-concatenative structure to allow for relatively easy integration of Berber verbs in Arabic, for instance, in Moroccan Arabic *ḥaf/iḥuf* 'to descend'; *bərnš/ibərnəš* 'to diversify [crops]' (El Aissati 2006). This process of incorporation is not restricted to loanwords from related languages with a non-concatenative structure. Ibero-Romance loanwords in Arabic from the period of the Reconquista, when Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese had started to function as superstrate languages, include verbs that have been integrated in the structure of the language, e.g. *nifindir* 'I defend' (< Spanish *defender*).

Integration of foreign verbs often takes place in a colonial context, in which a European language acts as the superimposed language. This is what happened, for instance, with French loans in Algerian and Moroccan Arabic (e.g., in Moroccan Arabic *ḍiklaṛa/yḍiklaṛi* 'to declare' < French *déclarer*, cf. Hadj-Sadok 1955; Heath 1989), or with Italian verbs in Maltese (e.g., *ffirma/jfirmi* 'to sign' < Italian *firmare*, Mifsud 1995:47-48). In Maltese, a special situation obtained because virtually all Italian and English loan verbs were integrated in this

way. Mifsud (1995:47-48) distinguishes between older loan verbs which constitute a closed class (e.g., *pitter* 'to paint'), and newer loans which were assimilated to the weak-final verbs, either fully, like *sploda* 'to explode', or with an unanalyzed stem (e.g., *ffirma* 'to sign', *pprogramma* 'to program'). Mifsud (1995:79) mentions some examples of periphrastic constructions, e.g. *għamel* TELEFON 'to telephone' (1995:79), but these are not frequent and may have been calqued on European examples.

A similar situation exists in the case of the technical vocabulary studied by Smeaton in al-Ḥasā in Saudi Arabia. Here, English verbs are usually integrated in the morphology of Arabic, e.g. (1973:71) *fanniš* 'to fire someone' (< English *to finish*), and the same thing happens in loans from other languages as well, e.g. (1973:80) *bannid* 'close!' (< Hindustani *band* 'to close'). Most verbs based on foreign material seem to be denominal, however, e.g. (1973:70) *dabbil* 'to double-clutch', (1973:74) *sallif* 'to step on the starter' (< English *self (-starter)*) and this procedure to accommodate foreign verbal material is similar to the one in Classical Arabic that was mentioned above. Still, the above examples show that it is possible to integrate verbs directly, and such borrowings are current in all Eastern Arabic dialects (*pace* Boumans 2007:296, n. 4, who insists that in Eastern varieties of Arabic integrated verbs are infrequent).

In the preceding examples, the loanwords were integrated in a context in which the superimposed language was not socially dominant. But the same procedure is also followed in situations where the speakers live in a society in which the superimposed language is the socially dominant language. Lebanese immigrants in Brazil regularly use in their daily life both Arabic and Portuguese. In their code-mixing, there is a large degree of flexibility in incorporating Portuguese verbs in the morphological structure of Arabic. Nabhan (1989) gives many examples of Portuguese verbs in sample sentences, but since she does not provide much information about the context, it is not certain that these sentences stem from spontaneous conversation. Examples that do not look like *ad hoc* borrowings in a code-switching mode in her corpus include: *ana naumart* 'I fell in love' (< Portuguese *eu namorei*) (1989:312); *ana vaiažt kitir* 'I traveled a lot' (< Portuguese *eu viajo*) (1989:286); *balacht ʿam-bi-maskiet* 'I began peddling' (< Portuguese *eu comecei mascateando*) (1989:287); *bi-master* 'he shows' (< Portuguese *mostra*) (1989:287).

The second strategy to incorporate foreign verbs, with the help of a DO-construction is frequently used in a migration context, for instance, in Moroccan Arabic/Dutch code-mixing in the Netherlands, where the light verb *dar* 'to do' is constructed with Dutch verbs, e.g. *dar* ONTMOETEN 'to meet' (< Moroccan Arabic *dar* 'to do' + Dutch *ontmoeten* 'to meet [inf.]', cf. Boumans 1998:229). In the first stage of this process, *dar* is used with a Dutch infinitive, which functions as the direct object of the auxiliary, so that direct objects of the infinitive itself have to be encoded as indirect objects, as in (1).

(1) *ana-ya* *dert-l-u* ONTMOETEN
I-Emph do1s-to-him meet.Inf
'I met him' (Boumans 1998:229)

This parallels the structure of the construction *dar* + verbal noun + direct object introduced by *l-* in monolingual Moroccan Arabic (Boumans 1998:228-229).

At a later stage, the verb *dar* loses its full verbal character and becomes a real auxiliary carrying all inflectional markers of the full verb. The Dutch infinitive no longer functions as the direct object, and its pronominal direct object can therefore be encoded as a direct object, as in (2) and (3).

(2) *ka-ne-bġi* *n-dir-hum* ONTMOETEN
Dur-1sg-want 1s-do-them meet.Inf
'I want to meet them' (Boumans 1998:231)

(3) *ma ka-t-dir-ha-š* VOELEN
Neg Progr-2s-do-it-Neg feel.Inf
'Don't you feel it?' (Boumans 1998:233)

According to Boumans (1998:262), the use of the DO-construction with *dar* in Moroccan Arabic/Dutch code-switching is a good example of a grammaticalisation process, by which the Moroccan Arabic full verb *dar* becomes a device to embed Dutch verbs in Moroccan Arabic.

The various stages of such a grammaticalisation are illustrated by Backus' (1996:241-244) analysis of the Turkish light verb *yap-* in Turkish/Dutch code-switching. This verb exhibits a decreasing semantic load, depending on the object with which it is combined. When a verbal noun is the object of *yap-*, the semantic load of the verb is rather low (e.g., *yemek yap-* 'to make food', AKTIVITEIT-*ler-i yap* 'to perform activities', *kutlama yap-* 'to congratulate', and all the

examples with Dutch infinitives such as PAKKEN *yap-* 'to grab', KIJKEN *yap-* 'to look'). The process of bleaching progresses even further when the verb *yap-* is combined with a non-volitional verb, e.g. WENNEN *yap-* 'to get used to'.

Examples from other languages show that this is not the final stage of the grammaticalisation process. In the Domari dialect of Romani, for instance, the two light verbs used in complex loan verbs, originally meaning 'to do' and 'to be', have been demoted to the status of an infixed marker, *-kar-* for transitive and *-ho-* for intransitive loan verbs, e.g., ŠTRI-*kar-* 'to buy' (< Arabic *ištarā*) and SKUN-*ho-* 'to dwell' (< Arabic *sakana*) (Matras 2002:129).

Moroccan Arabic/Dutch code-mixing is not unique in its use of a light verb for the incorporation of foreign verbs. In Egyptian Arabic/English code-switching in the United Kingdom, the verb *ʿimil* can perform a similar function. Othman's (2006) corpus has two possible examples, given in (5) and (6).

(5) *fī ʿā'ilāt ma-byitkallimūš ʿarabi maʿa l-'awlād ʿašān yiʿmilū-lhum* IMPROVING
'There are families that do not speak Arabic with the children to improve their English' (Othman 2006:56)

(6) *batkallim 'inglīzi lamma baʿmil* SHOPPING
'I speak in English when I do shopping' (Othman 2006:62)

In the same corpus, there are only two examples of inserted English verbs (2006:46, 47 ma-CANCEL-t-iš and *ma-*SAYYIF-*t-iš*). The verb *ʿamal* as a light verb also seems to be available in Brazilian Arabic as a less current alternative to the predominant integration of Portuguese loan verbs, e.g. *'ana bamil* MUVIMẼTU 'I move' (< Portuguese *movimento* 'movement') (Nabhan 1989:308), *mnamil al* ĨTEREGA 'we hand in' (< Portuguese *entrega* 'handing in [noun]') (Nabhan 1989: 311). It is not clear, however, whether these actually represent DO-constructions.

These examples show that speakers of Arabic have applied both strategies for borrowing verbs, but in different contexts. Speakers of other languages, too, have adapted their strategy for the incorporation of foreign verbs to the context. Hausa speakers, for instance, use the DO-construction in the western Sudan when they borrow Arabic verbs, whereas in the eastern Sudan they integrate freely any Arabic verbs in their code-switching discourse (cf. Abu Manga 1999). Backus (1996:224-225) and Boumans (2007) give yet other examples

of languages in which the different strategies for the incorporation of borrowed verbs can be contrasted. Apparently, therefore, the choice of the strategy does not depend on features of the borrowing language, and cannot be explained by linguistic constraints.

It has sometimes been suggested that the use of a DO-construction depends on the availability of such a construction in the embedded language (Boumans 2007:297). Since both strategies may co-occur in one language, it might be the case that the use of auxiliaries is always available in an emergency. Nuytens (1962:155), for instance, mentions the use of the dummy verb *doen* 'to do' in the Twents dialect of Dutch, which is used for the insertion of verbs or verbal compounds borrowed from the standard language. He ascribes its use to uncertainty on the part of the dialect speaker as to the correct inflection of these borrowings. In his view, this use of the auxiliary is related to its use as an auxiliary in cases of verb topicalisation where the verb must be topicalised in a non-inflected form in order to avoid confusion with the verb-initial interrogative sentence type. Here, too, the auxiliary is made to carry all the inflectional markers, just as in the case of borrowed verbal compounds.

There are some indications that light verbs indeed function sometimes as an auxiliary device that paves the way for their use in the incorporation of foreign loans. According to Jäger (2004), cross-linguistically there are four types of obligatory DO-periphrasis:

i. the presence of lexical or morphological elements that trigger periphrasis, e.g., negation;
ii. maintaining regular word order in case of verb topicalisation, interrogation, or focusing;
iii. lexical features of the main verb, in particular the fact that verbs are borrowed;
iv. marking of subordination.

Jäger mentions a large number of languages that belong to type iii, among them Basque, Pipil and Cakchiquel, and connects this use with "an avoidance strategy for morphological complexity or uncertainty in the case of borrowed stems" (2004:10). Note that in all his examples, the light verb is combined with a foreign verb, rather than with a foreign noun.

A similar function of the light verb is found in the Siberian varieties of Mennonite Low German, Plautdiitsch (Nieuweboer 1999). In Low German dialects, various uses of the periphrastic construction with the verb 'to do' have been observed, for instance to denote an aspectual nuancing of the normal construction, as in the Swiss German

dialect of Kerenzen, which distinguishes between *i tua webä* 'I am weaving' and *i wibä* 'I weave' (Nieuweboer 1999:166). The DO-construction is also used to disambiguate verbal forms in those dialects where present and preterite have merged. Here, the DO marker has grammaticalised to some degree, and this process of grammaticalisation is continued in the Plautdiitsch varieties of Siberia: the normal restriction of the DO-construction to subordinate clauses is lifted and the verb *döune* is even used as a marker with the lexical verb 'to do', which has the same form. This is not possible in other dialects of Low German.

Even more relevant to the present discussion is the additional function of the light verb as an integrator of Russian loan verbs (Nieuweboer 1999:175). Normally, Russian verbs, at least those in *-at'* can be integrated in Plautdiitsch morphologically with the help of the suffix *-eie*. In principle, such verbs can receive all inflectional endings of the Plautdiitsch paradigm, but normally this is restricted to a few forms in the present, for the preterite tense the auxiliary is used, e.g., *prawazheie* 'to see off', *etj prawazhei* 'I see off' or *etj döu prawazheie*; for non-integrated verbs this is the only way, e.g. *daut döune ze nü remontirovat'* 'they are repairing it now' (?) (Nieuweboer 1999:176). Interestingly, other varieties of Plautdiitsch that are spoken in North and South America do not make use of this DO-construction (Nieuweboer 1999:181). It is not clear from the material whether there is a diachronic layering, but from the texts it appears that increasingly, speakers of Plautdiitsch are shifting to Russian, and insert finite verbs from Russian into their conversation, which may signal an imminent language shift.

Even when a light verb is available in the embedded language to facilitate the incorporation of foreign material, borrowers do not always choose to use this device. According to Boumans (2007), the reason why speakers prefer the DO-construction in a situation of intense contact is the automatisation of the linguistic rules of the superimposed language. As the speakers become more familiar with this language, they replace the integrated loanwords with new periphrastic constructions since this "entails little or no phonological or morphological adaptation to the matrix language" (2007:308). This type of change is called 'denativisation' and is linked by him with the increased knowledge of the superimposed language. Less adept code-switchers in Boumans' corpus indeed seem to be unable to use

the DO-construction and resort to integration of Dutch verbs, although much less frequently, as in (4).

(4) *ka-t-* BEWIJS *belli 't goed is*
Progr-2s- prove that it good is
'You prove that it's correct' (Boumans 1998:261)

A second explanation Boumans offers for the use of the light verb is language loss on the part of speakers of the community language, which prevents them from resorting to morphological integration of loanwords in the community language, whose rules they are no longer familiar with (2007:308-309). Presumably, therefore, knowledge of both the community language and of the superimposed language are necessary conditions for the successful use of the light verb. This is confirmed by other examples of the use of a DO-construction in a situation in which the command of the first language is deficient. Makihara (2005:748) states that the Spanish verb *hacer* 'to make, to do' in Rapa Nui Spanish is used by younger speakers who are losing their Rapa Nui in order to introduce Rapa Nui material without its complicated pre- and postverbal morphology. Similar suggestions are made by Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2007) and by Boumans (2007:308-309). Jäger (2004) mentions the fact that a similar tendency has been observed in (first) language acquisition (referring to Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1990:21-21; Van der Auwera 1999:60).

The main factors determining the choice between the two strategies, therefore, are the sociolinguistic relationship between the two speech communities and the proficiency in both the embedded and the matrix language. The four available options are:

i. bare verbs: pidginisation
ii. DO-constructions: extensive bilingualism
iii. morphological integration: full bilingualism
iv. inflected verbs: language shift

The first option is the one chosen in initial contact situations, for instance by speakers of Arabic pidgins/creoles. The second option is that of using light verbs in a DO-construction. This is the option chosen for Dutch loan verbs in Moroccan Arabic/Dutch code-switching. The third option is the full morphological integration of foreign verbs, for instance in Brazilian Lebanese Arabic. The fourth option, borrowing inflected verbs, may be selected during the final stage of linguistic contact and may be indicative of an ongoing language shift, as in the case of Plautdiitsch/Russian code-mixing mentioned above.

Another example is provided by the use of Greek inflected verbs in Cypriot Arabic (cf. Borg 1985), as in (7).

(7) *w*-ANANKÁSTIKA *taxótt žréy*
and-I.WAS.FORCED put legs-my STANDING
'I was forced to put my legs [through] first' (Borg 1985:182)

The difference between options iii and iv correlates with Boumans' distinction between a situation in which the superimposed language is socially dominant, and one in which the community language is dominant. When Arabic/Dutch code-switching takes place in a migratory context, in which Dutch is the standard of the country the speakers are living in, the effect on the code-switching/borrowing strategies differs from that in North Africa, where French/Arabic code-switching took place either within a colonial context or in a post-independence context in which the French language remained a prestigious model. This explains why in North Africa no examples of the DO-construction are found, while fully integrated French verbs are frequent. It also explains the difference in the borrowing practice between West Sudanic and East Sudanic Hausa.

The correlation of DO-constructions with a migration context faces a problem, however, since it also occurs in other contexts, in which there is no intensive contact and no socially dominant superimposed language. Arabic loanwords in a great many Islamic languages, such as Persian, Turkish, and Urdu, are always incorporated with the help of a light verb, e.g. Persian TA'LIM *kardan* 'to teach', Turkish TEBDIL *etmek* 'to change', Urdu INTAZAR *karna* 'to wait' (Versteegh, forthcoming). In all of these languages, borrowing usually takes place through the work of Islamic scholars, who start using them in their writings, while the rest of the population is unlikely to be proficient in the embedded language. The examples of DO-constructions in such cases of written transmission are characterised by the fact that the foreign element combined with the light verb is never a verb, but always a noun. Probably, therefore, a distinction needs to be made between two different kinds of DO-construction, depending on the linguistic category to which the embedded element that is combined with the light verb belongs. The examples given by Backus for Turkish/Dutch code-mixing mostly involve the infinitive, but he has also recorded participles (1996:225-227), and even finite verbs (1996:227-228). In the examples from Moroccan Arabic/Dutch code-switching, the embedded Dutch elements in a complex verb are

usually bare infinitives. Elsewhere, the same rule applies. In Persian/Swedish code-switching, for instance, only Swedish bare infinitives are found, and there are no combinations of nouns with the Persian light verb *kardan* 'to do' (Lotfabbadi 2002). This contrasts with the Arabic loanwords in Persian. Likewise, in Panjabi/English code-mixing. the verbs *kərna* 'to do' and *hona* 'to be' are combined with English verbs or noun-verb phrases, whereas the older Arabo-Persian loans in Panjabi that are combined with the same verbs are predominantly nominal (Romaine 1989:120-123).

The instances of light verbs with foreign nouns have in common that most of the borrowing takes place or has taken place through written transmission. A parallel might be the case of the Chinese and English loanwords in Korean, discussed by Park (2005). In Korean, the light verb *ha* is used chiefly with verbal nouns borrowed from Chinese, which presumably derive from a process of written transmission, but in combinations of the light verb with English loanwords, the latter are always verbs, never nouns (Park 1995:351). Likewise, the Arabic loanwords that are used in complex verbs in Persian, Turkish, Panjabi, and Urdu, are always verbal nouns, i.e. nouns with a highly verbal character.

The use of light verbs with a (verbal) noun does not qualify as alternation in the sense of Muysken's (2000) typology of code-mixing, but unlike the DO-construction with infinitives or inflected verbs, it represents a case of insertion. This is confirmed by comparing these instances of borrowing through written transmission with the correlation set up by Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004). They assign the insertion mode of code-mixing to situations of asymmetric proficiency in the superimposed and the community language, while the alternation mode is typical for situations of stable bilingualism. In the case of languages like Persian and Urdu, the only people with any degree of proficiency in (written) Arabic are the Islamic scholars, so that there is a clear asymmetry, and one should expect in such a situation insertion rather than alternation.

Not only do DO-constructions occur outside a migratory context, but sometimes, the integration strategy is used in a migratory context. According to Boumans (2007:297, n. 7), the expected DO-construction in Arabic/French code-mixing in France is not used because the speakers use a strategy that was already in place in the homeland. In such a case, one might say that the speakers simply use loan verbs that were already available in their community language. A similar

case is that of the English loanwords in Greek in a migration context, which according to Boumans (2007) already existed in homeland Greek. Note, however, that this does not explain the Portuguese loan verbs in Brazilian Lebanese Arabic that were mentioned above: for obvious reasons, these could not have been introduced in the homeland. Perhaps in this case, one might argue, what is preserved is not the actual lexical items, but the strategy of integrating loan verbs, for instance from French, which the Lebanese immigrants brought with them to Latin America and applied there to Portuguese and Spanish verbs. This might also explain why Moroccan Arabic speakers in the Netherlands do not integrate any Dutch loan verbs. It is possible that their deficient knowledge of the home language does not include the strategy at the disposal of adult fluent speakers of Moroccan Arabic, who are able to apply this strategy to Dutch loanwords, just as it is applied in Morocco to French loanwords. Those speakers who do integrate Dutch verbs may do so, not because of their lack of fluency in Dutch, but because of their fluency in the home language: presumably, these speakers are recent arrivals in the Netherlands, hence their lack of fluency in Dutch.

Moravcsik (1975:4) claims that foreign elements (even when they were verbs in the original language) never function structurally as a verb when embedded in another language; in her view, they have to be nominalised before they can become the complement of a light verb. This claim was rejected by Muysken (2000:188) on the basis of code-mixing patterns in Quechua verb, where the verb SABI-*ran-kitaq* (< Spanish *saber*) means the same and is formed in the same way as the native word *acha-ran-kitaq* 'if only you knew'. The above examples support this rejection of Moravcsik's claim and show that it is indeed possible to borrow verbs from another language.

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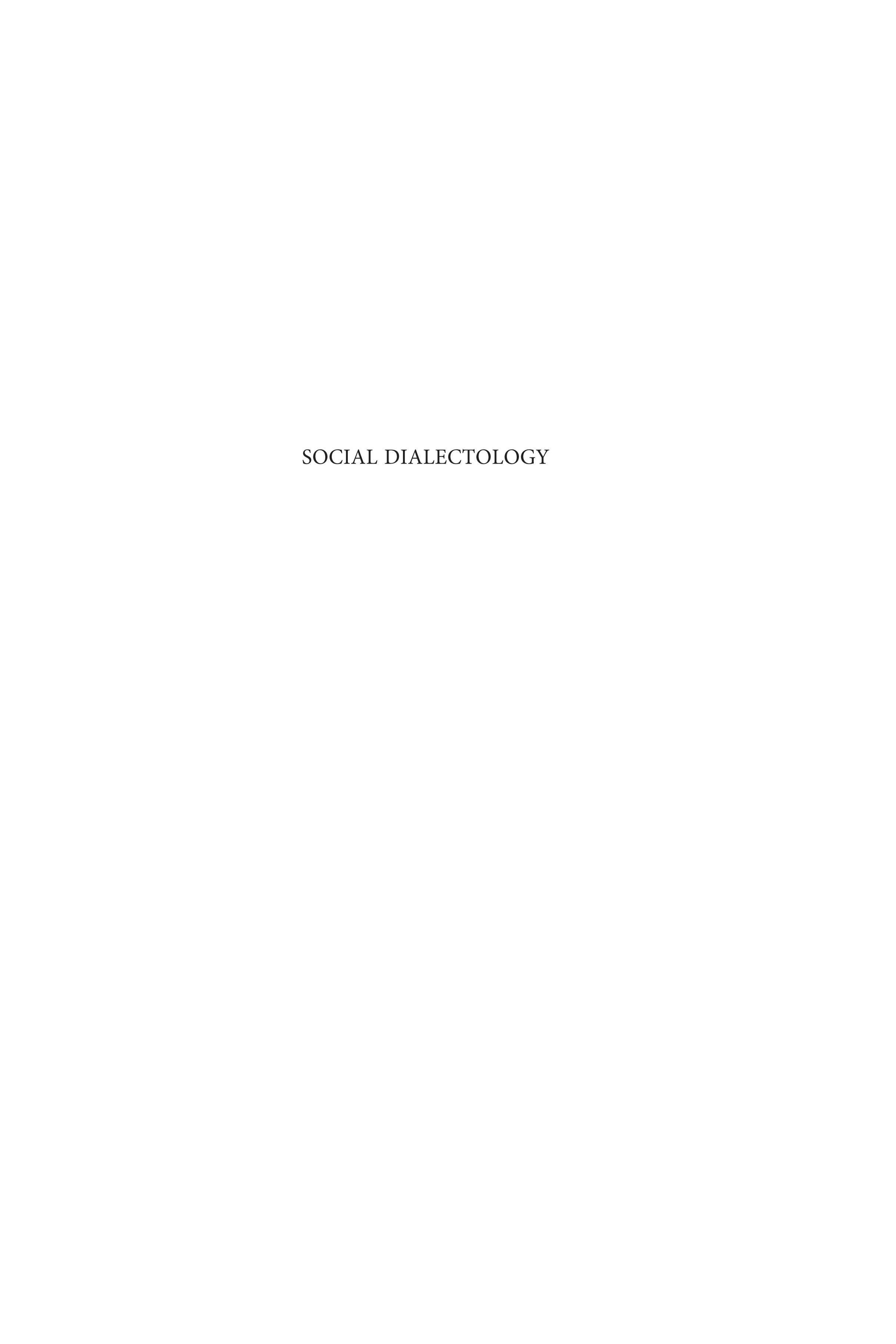
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SOCIAL DIALECTOLOGY

WHEN NAJD MEETS HIJAZ: DIALECT CONTACT IN JEDDAH

Aziza Al-Essa

1. Introduction

Since the publication of Peter Trudgill's book Dialects in Contact (1986), a series of studies followed investigating linguistic changes resulting from mobility and in-migration, for example Kerswill and Williams 2000, and Britain 1997, 2002. In the Arab world, a number of studies examined situations where dialect contact was involved: Holes' 1987 study of Bahraini Arabic, Al-Wer's 1991 study of Jordanian Arabic, and her 2002, 2003, 2007 studies of new dialect formation in Amman, Jabeur's 1987 study of Tunisian Arabic, and Hachimi 2007 study of Casablancan Arabic. In Saudi Arabia, dialect contact was investigated in four sociolinguistic studies: Al-Jehani (1985) and Al-Ahdal (1989) examined dialect contact in Mecca, Kahtani (1992) studied dialect contact in Abha, and Al-Shehri (1993) investigated dialect contact in Jeddah.

Dialect contact has a number of consequences. The basic consequence of dialect contact is dialect levelling: a process whereby socially or locally marked variants are eliminated form the speech of speakers. Dialect contact may also lead to the emergence of interdialect forms. Trudgill (1986) maintains that sometimes in dialect contact situation between mutually intelligible dialects the accommodation process is incomplete and that intermediate forms between the original and the target dialect develop as a result. Both linguistic consequences, dialect levelling and the rise of intermediate forms, are demonstrated in the dialect contact situation under study.

This article investigates the consequences of the dialect contact between two varieties of Arabic: the Najdi variety and the urban Hijazi variety. It adopts the methods of quantitative sociolinguistics to analyse the variation in the speech of Najdi speakers who live in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia in relation to the affrication of /k/ and /g/. Affrication in Najdi Arabic is manifested in two domains; in the stem where the velar stops /k/ and /g/ are realised as [ts] and [dz], respec-

tively, in the environment of the front vowels most of the time; and in the domain of the 2nd p. fem. suffix. The variation attested in the use of these variables is analysed within the framework of variationist theory. I intend to examine the correlation between these linguistic variables and the social factors of age, gender and contact in this article.

2. The Sociolinguistic Situation in Jeddah

The city of Jeddah is located in the Western region of Saudi Arabia on the coast of the Red Sea, and is considered to be the country's commercial capital. The area of the city is calculated to be 463 square miles (1,200 square km). Jeddah is also the 30th largest seaport in the world.[1] With a population of 2.8 million, it ranks second in population size after Riyadh, according to the recent census carried out by the Central Statistics Department of the Ministry of Economy and Planning in September 2004.

By virtue of its strategic location on the trade routes and being the main port of entry to the holy cities of Makkah and Madinah in the Hijaz region, the City has evolved into a cosmopolitan city with a heterogeneous population. Many of the pilgrims from different parts of the Muslim world opted to settle in the main cities of Hijaz. Migrants came from Arab countries like Morocco, Syria, and Egypt and from other Asian countries like Turkey, India and Indonesia. The largest numbers, however, came from Hadramawt (south), Yemen (south) and Najd (central and eastern provinces). The diversity in the origins of the City's population has increased even further after the discovery of oil. The latter type of migration included economic migrants who came to fill the job opportunities which were created through economic growth. Arabs from Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq came to Jeddah to work as teachers, engineers, physicians, nurses and skilled labourers. After the oil boom in the 1970s, the modernization of Saudi Arabia required the use of foreign labour force, and, therefore, new waves of workers arrived in the City from different parts of the world, mostly non-Arab. Today the population of Jeddah is a mixture of all of these ethnic groups in addition to its native inhabitants, most of whom are of non-tribal descent.

[1] http://www.aapa-ports.org/pdf/WORLD_PORT_RANKINGS_2004.xls

3. The Najdi Community in Jeddah

According to Soraya Altorki(1968:11) the immigration of Najdi families started near the end of the Turkish rule of Hijaz. Nevertheless, it is only after the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932 that Najdis came in large numbers to settle in Jeddah. Najdis were referred to as *Shurug* 'people from the east' by the Hijazi locals who identified themselves as *ahl al-balad*, which is a term used by the native population of Hijaz whose origins lie outside Arabia to distinguish themselves from the recent immigrants and from the Beduins who settled on the outskirts of the city. This distinction reflects the cultural difference between the people of the city and the outsiders, particularly those of tribal origin who adopted some of the traits of the cosmopolitan culture of Jeddah.

Unlike the other ethnic groups who settled in Hijaz, Najdis maintained a separate identity. Except for a few known families, the majority of them have led a conservative way of life and, therefore, have not assimilated into the more open Hijazi community. Most of the early immigrant families used to huddle in certain neighbourhoods and they exerted little effort to socially explore their new home. Their contact with the Hijazi locals was limited to formal encounters in the marketplace, workplace and schools. The conservative Najdi community also has imposed restrictive rules of socialization on girls, thus restricting socialisation outside the family boundary. Most importantly, the assimilation of Najdis into the Hijazi community is hindered by the fact that they traditionally observe strict marriage laws that disfavour intermarriage with non-Najdis including urban Hijazis. Although one may witness instances of such intermarriages, they are generally frowned upon.

4. The Varieties

Najdi (henceforth N) and Urban Hijazi (henceforth UH) are varieties of Arabic that differ in most aspects. Najdi Arabic belongs to the North Arabian group of the dialects spoken in the Arabian Peninsula (Johnstone1967). It is geographically associated with the Najd region. In modern Saudi Arabia, Najd is called the Central Region. Riyadh, the country's capital is located there. Najdi Arabic is spoken by a large number of culturally homogenous people who are spread over

large and distant areas within and outside geographical Najd. Prochazka (1986:11-12) and Ingham (1994: 4-5) give a list of different groups who speak varieties that can be labelled as 'Najdi dialects'. Although there are phonological and morphological variations among the Najdi sub-dialects, mutual intelligibility among them is total. Generally speaking Najdi dialects are morphologically uniform. (see Prochazka 1986, and Ingham 1994). Najdi is classified as a 'Beduin dialect' (as opposed to sedentary). One of its major phonological features is the affrication of stops /k/ and /g/ (Versteegh 1994, Ingham 1994), which is the feature discussed in this article.

The Urban Hijazi Variety is a variety that is spoken in the western province, namely in the cities of Jeddah, Makkah, Madinah and Taif. It is the final linguistic product of a multitude of ethnicities that mixed in the melting pot of Hijaz. It is a levelled dialect which exhibits similarities to other urban Arabic dialects outside Arabia (Ingham 1971: 273). It differs from the other tribal dialects in the western region and most of the other varieties in Saudi Arabia, including Najdi, in many phonological and morphological features. The absence of the affrication of /k/ and /g/ is one of the phonological features that distinguish Urban Hijazi from the Najdi dialect.

5. Affrication in Najdi

In the central Najdi dialect, /k/ and /g/ are usually realised as [ts] and [dz] most of the time in the environment of front vowels. The affrication of /k/ and /g/ to [ts] and [dz], respectively, was recognised and discussed by early Arab grammarians such as Sibawaih, Ibn-Jinni and Ibn Yaʿish and referred to as *Kaskasah*. Within contemporary western Linguistic tradition it was discussed by many linguists. Johnstone (1963) analysed the affrication of /k/ and /g/ as it is realized in the Arabic dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. Because the affricated variant [ts] occurred consistently in the 2nd fem sing suffix form /k/, Jonhstone did not consider it a variant of (k) in this position. In his classification of the Najdi sub dialects both inside and outside Arabia, Ingham (1982) uses affrication of /k/ and /g/ to distinguish between the inner Najdi dialects, which have [ts] and [dz] and the peripheral ones, which have [tʃ] and [dʒ]. Prochazka (1988) discusses the treatment of /k/ and /g/ in different dialects and he maintains that in all Najdi dialects /k/ and /g/ are affricated to [ts]

and [dz], respectively. In the examples he cites, affricated [ts] occurs when /k/ is in the stem as well as when it occurs in the suffixed pronoun. Holes (1991) investigates the phenomenon of affrication of the velar stops in contemporary Arabic dialects. He attempts to explain the origin of the affricated variants of /k/ and /g/ in the different dialects by proposing different stages in their historical development. According to Holes in Bedouin dialects the affrication of /k/ and /g/ as [ts] and [dz] is the last stage in a long process of fronting that extended over many centuries (Holes 1990:671).

The following examples, taken from my data, illustrate the various processes of the affrication of [k] and [g] (IPA symbols are used throughout)

(a) [k] in the stem

tse:f < ke:f	*how*
tsin < kin	*as if*
mitsa:n < mika:n	*place*(n)
ba:tsir < ba:kir	*tomorrow*
tsiðejta < kiðejta	*like this*
jabtsi < jabki	*he cries/he is crying*
iltsibi:rah < ilkibi:ra	*the big one* (fem.)
jatswu:n < jakwu:n	*they*(masc.) *iron/ they are ironing*

(b) [k] in the 2nd person feminine suffix /-k/:

ummits < ummik	*your mother*
ð̝alamna:ts < ð̝alamna:ts	*we wronged you*
ʕindits < ʕindik	*with you*

(c) Affrication of [g]:

ṭiri:dz < ṭiri:g	*road*
badzi:n < ba:gi:n	*the remaining ones*
ildza:blah < ilga:blah	*tomorrow*
tiwa:dzi < tiwa:gi	*hats*
ra:dzdi:n < ra:gdi:n	*asleep*
ṭildzat < ṭilgat	*she was divorced*

Because affrication of the stop consonants [k] and [g] in the stem differ (in ways that will be explained presently) from affrication of [k] in the suffix form, in the discussion below these features are discussed separately.

6. Methodology

Data for this research were collected through sociolinguistic interviews with a sample of 61 Najdi male and female speakers who were born in Hijaz, or emigrated from their cities of origin in Najd at an early age, not later than their late teens. The speakers were interviewed for 30-60 minutes in their homes most of the time or in their offices. I conducted the interviews with 50 male and female speakers, while the remaining 11 speakers were interviewed by my male and female assistants. For the analysis of the second person feminine suffix, out of the 61 speakers interviewed for this study I only calculated the frequency for the 51 speakers who were interviewed by a female, since affrication of [k] in the suffix form only occurs in items which address a female speaker.

The researcher and her assistants belong to the Jeddan Najdi community, and, therefore, closely match their subjects ethnically and linguistically. Since the modifications detected in the informants' speech occur in the presence of the speakers' compatriots, so to speak, it may be possible to claim that these modifications represent long term changes (i.e genuine linguistic changes), rather than temporary short-term accommodation (cf. Trudgill 1986).

The affricated variants were examined in relation to three social variables: age, gender and contact. The sample was classified into 4 age groups that represent three generations of male and female Najdi speakers. The speakers were classified into two groups according to the level of contact: low contact speakers and mid to high contact speakers. Four criteria were used to determine the level of contact:

– formal relationships at school and at work.
– involvement in neighbourhood affairs.
– close friendships with Urban Hijazi locals.
– kinship and intermarriage in the family.

The informants were assigned one point for each criterion they fulfilled. An index score, ranging between 1 (low) and 4 (high) was used to determine the degree of contact for each speaker. A low contact speaker would score 1 meeting the first criterion only. A mid to high contact speaker, on the other hand, would score from 2 to four. The data were subjected to statistical tests using SPSS 14.

7. Results and Discussion

7.1. *(k) and (g) in the Stem*

The data obtained from the speakers in this study show that affrication of stem /k/ and /g/ is becoming obsolete in the speech of Najdi speakers in Hijaz. The data presented in Tables 1 and 2 clearly show that the rate of use of stem [ts] and [dz] is extremely low, and is largely confined to middle aged and older speakers.

Table 1. *Use of Stem [ts] and [dz]*

Variant	% rate of occurrence	No of tokens
[ts]	7	49/668
[dz]	9	19/217

Table 2. *Use of stem [ts] and [dz] by age*

Age Group	% [ts] (N)	% [dz] (N)
(Over 55)	21 (172)	8 (76)
(39-55)	1 (137)	0 (39)
(25-38)	7 (150)	0 (40)
(10-24)	0 (209)	0 (62)
Total	49/668 ANOVA=2.439, p = 0.074	19/217 ANOVA=1.983, p = 0.127

Only four speakers of the 61 interviewed for this study used stem [ts]. Three of these speakers belong to the low contact group and one speaker to the mid-high contact group. Speakers 6 and speaker 17 contributed only three tokens, 46 tokens, however, were obtained from two old low contact speakers who were also the only ones who contributed the 19 tokens obtained for [dz]. I examined the variation in the use of the affricated variants in the speech of these two speakers who happened to be a husband and wife, and found it to be related to their limited pattern of socialization. This couple belong to the low contact group. The woman is 65 years old; she has the least contact of all speakers in this study. Although she came to Hijaz at the age of 14, she has had very limited contact with the locals whom she might run into only if she needs to go to the market. Her

socialisation is limited to the confines of her home and her immediate family. On the other hand, her husband, who is a retired judge, has a very limited social network. He convenes a 'majles' (social gathering) in his house every afternoon where relatives or acquaintances may attend. His majles is rarely frequented by urban Hijazi locals.

The differences among speakers in the use of [ts] and [dz] by age are not statistically significant according to the ANOVA tests (as shown in Table 2).

Turning to the effect of contact, Table (3) below shows the correlation between the use of the affricated variants and the level of contact. Unsurprisingly, the use of [ts] and [dz] are found to be inversely correlated with the level of contact in that the speakers with the highest degree of contact with urban Hijazis are the ones who use the traditional affricated variants least frequently, and vice versa. The statistics given in the Table indicate that the differences among speakers by the level of contact is significant in the case of [ts], but not in the case of [dz].

Table 3. *Use of stem [ts] and [dz] by contact*

Contact	%[ts] (N)	%[dz] (N)
Low	14 (340)	15 (124)
Mid-high	1 (328)	0 (93)
	t-test = 2.218, p = 0.035	t-test = 1.435, p = 0.163

With respect to the effect of gender, the differences between the two sexes in the use of stem [ts] and [dz] is shown in Table 4. Although the data show that the female speakers use the affricated variants more than male speakers, this difference is not statistically significant according to the results of t-tests given in the Table.

Table 4. *Use of stem [ts] and [dz] by gender*

	% [ts] (N)	% [dz] (N)
Male	7 (294)	5 (118)
Female	8 (374)	13 (99)
	t-test = 0.638, p = 0.526	t-test = 0.032, p = 0.975

The disappearance of stem [ts] and [dz] can be ascribed to "the greater awareness attached to overtly stigmatized forms" (Trudgill

1986: 11). Najdis in Hijaz are aware of the saliency of the variants [dz] and [ts] because they are phonetically radically different from the urban Hijazi [k] and [g]. They are also aware of the social stigma associated with this highly ‘marked’ feature that is associated with rural or Bedouin population. So the salient “localised” variants [ts] and [dz] are abandoned in favour of the ‘unmarked’ variants [g] and [k]. A pilot study conducted on a group of Najdi speakers living in Riyadh indicates a similar decline in the use of these variants though less pervasively.

7.2 *Clitic (-k)*

In Najdi Arabic gender in the second person is indicated by the suffixes [-ik] for the masculine and [-its] for the feminine. In Hijazi, the forms used vary according to the phonological environment: in post-consonantal environments [-ak] is the masculine form, and [-ik] is the feminine form; in the environment following a vowel, the forms are [k] for the masculine, and [ki] for the feminine. The traditional forms in Najdi are listed under (d) and those in Hijazi are listed under (e). Examples comparing the forms used in both dialects are under (f).

(d) *Traditional Najdi forms*

masc.	-ik
fem.	-its

(e) *Traditional Hijazi forms*

– following consonants	masc.	–ak
	fem.	–ik
– following vowels	masc.	–k
	fem.	–ki

(f) *Examples*:

Following consonants:	ʃa:f		“to see”		
Najdi:	masc.	ʃa:fik	*Hijazi*:	masc.	ʃa:fak
	fem.	ʃa:fits		fem:	ʃa:fik
Following vowels:		xalla	“to leave/maintain/let be”		
Najdi:	masc.	xallik	*Hijazi*:	masc.	xallak
	fem.	xallits		fem.	xalki

As illustrated above, there is a considerable complexity involved in moving from a Najdi system to a Hijazi system. We notice, firstly, that in the Hijazi system (the target variety) the phonetic form of the

suffix is conditioned by the preceding sound, whereas no such conditioning operates in the Najdi system. Secondly, in the environment following a consonant, the Najdi masculine form is identical to the Hijazi feminine form. It is worth recalling in this context that no such complexity is present in the case of Hijazi versus Najdi forms when [k] occurs in the stem; in this case, the difference is purely phonetic and involves straightforward substitution only: [k] for [ts]. We can expect, therefore, that the two features, stem /k/ and clitic /k/, are likely to show different patterns in the contact situation under study. Put simply, given the relative complexity involved in accommodating to the Hijazi clitic /k/ form, the speakers would be less 'successful' in this case than they would be in the case of stem /k/. Similarly, one would expect that in a process of second dialect acquisition or dialect convergence, interdialectal forms, which do not exactly match the target features, are likely to be used (cf. Chamber 1992, Trudgill 1986). Let us then see what the Najdi speakers do in accommodating to the Hijazi pattern.

The data show that Najdi speakers used four variants to mark the feminine gender in the second person: [-ts][2] [-ik] [-ki] and [-k]. They used [ik] most of the time post-consonantly, and thus matching the UH in this environment. The examples in g-j below illustrate the usages of these variants to mark the feminine.

(g) [ik] post-consonantally:
maʕ-ik *with you* (fem.)
ʔagu:l-ik *I tell you* (fem.)
kta:b-ik *your book* (fem.)

But a number of speakers used [k] post-vocalically. The final vowel is lengthened and [k] is attached, as illustrated in (h):

[2] 7 female speakers produced the second person feminine suffix as a fricative [-s] along with [-ts]. Detailed and reliable studies of the dialect in general (Ingham 1994) and affrication in Central Najdi dialects in particular describe this variant as an affricate: [-ts] (Johnstone 1963). To account for this, sound change from an affricate [ts] to fricative [s], I have examined the preceding environment to check whether this phonetic change is phonologically conditioned. I have found that both variants occur with the same sets of consonants and vowels and that some speakers would use both forms to mark the feminine gender in the same word, e.g. [ummis] and [ummits] 'your mother'. This process of simplification (lenition) seems to be phonetically motivated. It can be argued that it is easier for the speaker to produce a [s] than the phonetically more complex [ts]. Both phonetic variants are described as [ts] for the purpose of this paper.

(h) [k] post-vocalically:
jiza:-k *may you be rewarded* (fem.)
yiʕṭi:-k *he gives you* (fem.)
ʔubu:-k *your father* (fem.)
fi:-k *in you* (fem.)

The second form which Najdi speakers used to indicate the feminine gender is [-ki]. However, they do not observe the morphophonemic rule of the Urban Hijazi dialect which restricts its use to words which end in vowels. They used [-ki] with words ending in consonants as well as vowels:

(i) [ki] post-vocalically:
yajza:-ki *may you* (fem.) *be rewarded*
fi:-ki *in you* (fem.)
ʔubu:ki *your father* (fem.)

(j) [ki] post-consonantally:
wiʃlo:n-ki *how are you* (fem.)
ʔakallim-ki *I speak to you* (fem.)
dʒamb-ki *beside you* (fem.)

The inter-dialectal gender morphophonemics in the second person singular as used by the Najdi speakers in Hijaz and the traditional UH forms are summarized schematically below:

	Najdi Dialect in Hijaz	Urban Hijazi Dialect
2nd per masc sg	[-ik]	[-ak]
2nd pers fem sg	[-its], [-ki]/C+V, [ik]/C+V	[ik]/C-, [ki]/V-

The use of these variants is discussed in the following sections.

7.2.1. *Accommodation to the urban Hijazi Dialect*

Overall, the use of the affricated variants has decreased considerably. However, compared to the use of [ts] as a stem consonant, the use of [ts] in the clitic form shows a higher frequency, as shown in Figure 1 below.

To mark the feminine gender in the second person, they use a range of variants. Although the majority of Najdi speakers who were interviewed for this research replaced the 2nd person singular feminine suffix [ts] with [k], and thus accommodated to the Hijazi sound, they nonetheless did not consistently observe the phonological conditioning factors for the use of [ik] versus [ki] in the feminine clitic. In other words, all three variants occurred in all environments. Accommodation to the Hijazi form goes through a process of pho-

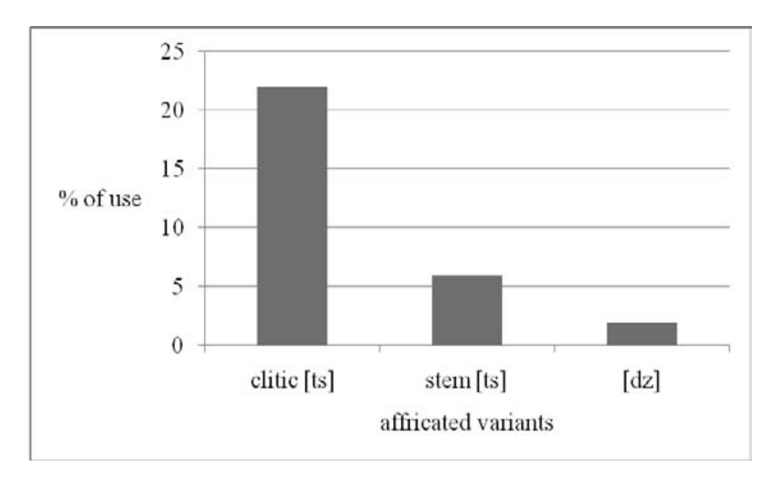


Figure 1. Use of affricated variants of /k/ and /g/

netic and phonological approximations; it is perfectly possible to attribute the use of the intermediate forms to some sort of "imperfect accommodation" (cf. Trudgill 1986: 62).

To account for the maintenance of [-ts] and the presence of the intermediate forms one has to recognize the morphosyntactic function performed by the suffix [-ts], which marks the feminine gender in the second person. In the following sections I will examine the use of [ts] and the interdialectal variants, and the social variables of age, gender and contact.

7.2.2. *The Use of the Variants by Age*

Figure (2) illustrates the distribution of post-consonantal variants of the 2nd p. f. suffix across the age groups.

The zigzag line in Figure (2) indicates an implicational relationship between the use of [ts] and the intermediate form C\-[ki]. In each age group the increase in the use of [-ts] is mirrored by a decrease in the use of C\-[ki] and vice versa. The use of [-ki] to mark the feminine gender in the first generation is relatively low because [ts] is still in use in this generation, However, in the second generation (39-54) the sharp decrease in the use of [ts] is compensated for by an increase in the use of the intermediate form C\-[ki] to mark the feminine gender along with the target variant [ik].This contrastive pattern continues in the other age groups. On the other hand, the

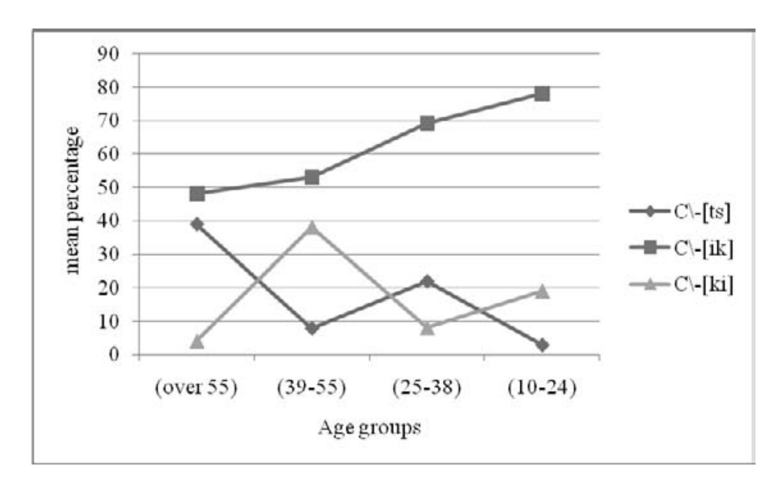


Figure 2. Distribution of the 2nd p. fem. suffix post-consonantal variants by age

target variant [-ik] is steadily rising in all age groups. Nevertheless, the acquisition of the target form even in the youngest generation, who were born and raised in Hijaz, is not complete. Trudgill (1986: 38) maintains that complex phonological contrasts and allophonic conditioning are sometimes not acquired at all unless speakers have been exposed to them in the speech of their parents.

As illustrated in Figure (3) below, in post-vocalic environment, three variants are used.

Figure (3) shows that the regional variant V\-[ts] and the target variant V\-[ki] are interrelated in the same contrastive relationship as in the case of post-consonantal -it*s* and -ki .The increase in the use of one variant is mirrored by a decrease in the use of the other. The variant [-ki] is taking over the function of feminine gender marking in the post-vocalic environment from the traditional variant [-ts]. The figure also shows that there are innovative speakers from all age groups who use the variant [-k], which is a new form to both dialects.

7.2.3. *The Effect of Contact*

Figure (4) below shows that in the case of the high contact group there is a decrease in the use of the traditional variant [ts] and an increase in the use of the target form C\-[ik]. This correlation between these two variants and the level of contact is statistically significant

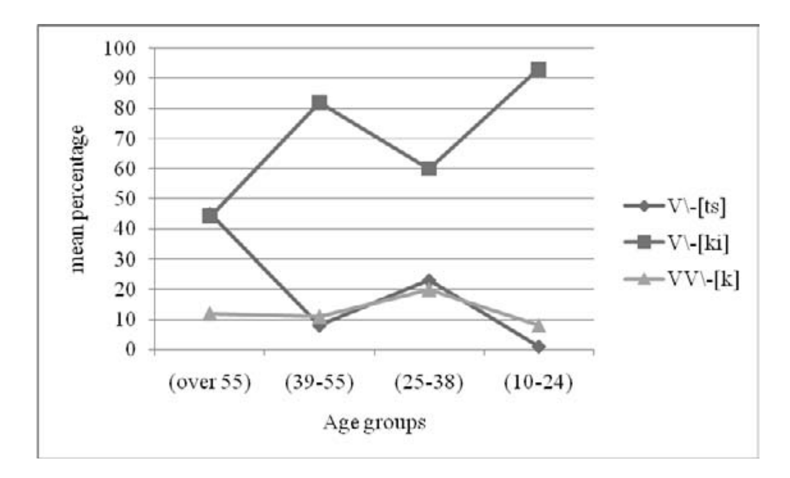


Figure 3. Distribution of the 2nd p. fem. post-vocalic suffix variants by age

as shown by the use of t-test at significance level 5% (Table 5). Though the mid-high contact speakers use less of the intermediate and incorrect variant C\-[ki] than the low contact group, this difference is not statistically significant using the t-test.

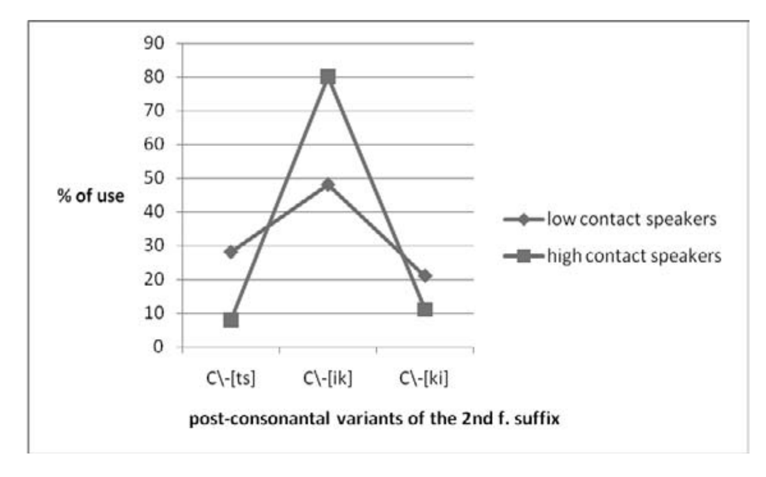


Figure 4. The use of the 2nd p. fem. suffix post-consonantal variants by contact

Table 5. *Results of the t-test of the significance in the difference among speakers in their use of -ts ,-ik ,and –ki according to the level of contact*

	t-value p =
C\-[ts]	2.320 0.025
C\-[ik]	3.433 0.001
C\-[ki]	1.545 0.129

As for the post vocalic variants, Figure (5) below shows that the high contact group show 'better' degree of approximation to the Hijazi system since they use less of the traditional variant V\-[ts] and more of V\-ki than the low contact group. T-test shows that the difference among speakers in the use of V\-ki by contact is not statistically significant

(p = 0.191). As for the intermediate form VV\-k, its use is very small in both groups.

7.2.4. *The Effect of Gender*

Female speakers fare better than male speakers in their accommodation to the UH variety. They use less of the 'marked' variant [ts] than the male speakers. They show better accommodation by using more of the target variant C\-[ik] and less of the intermediate form C\-ki (Figure 6). T-test shows that the difference in the use of C\-ki between

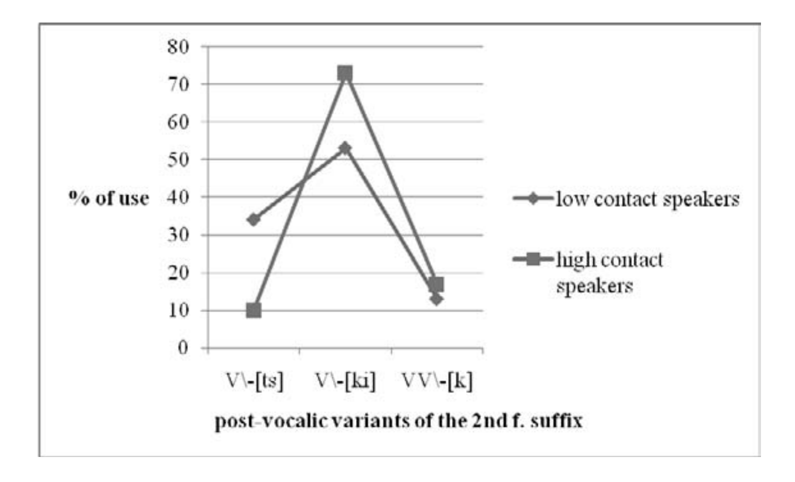


Figure 5. The use of the 2nd p. fem. suffix post-vocalic variants by contact

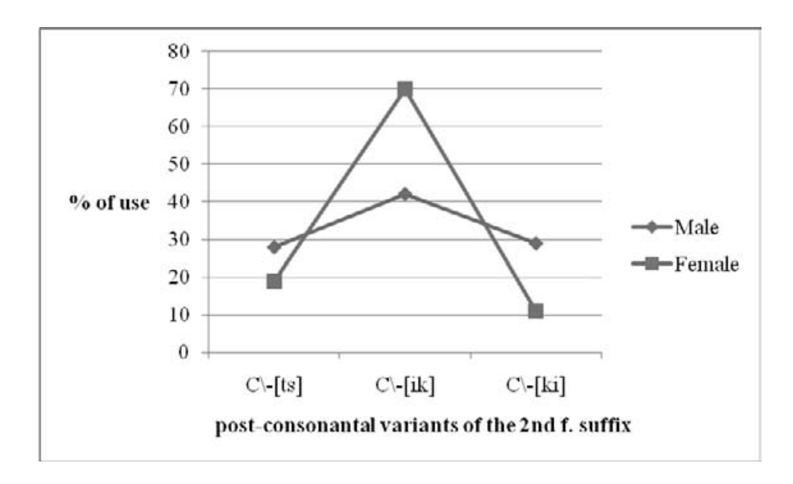


Figure 6. Use of post-consonantal variants by gender

men and women is statistically significant (Table 6). Women commit fewer mistakes in their approximation to the Urban Variety.

The observed pattern of gender differentiation may be explained in terms of the principle of local density (Bloomfield 1933). Labov summarizes the principle of local density as follows: "each act of communication between speakers is accompanied by a transfer of linguistic influence that makes their speech patterns more alike" (Labov 1990: 207). The use of the feminine suffix seems to be affected by the configuration of the social interaction between men and women in the Najdi community. In a traditional society like the Najdi community social interaction between men and women outside the family sphere is not allowed. Najdi men have limited access to contexts where they would be involved in face-to-face interaction with urban Hijazi women. We argue that the urban Hijazi suffix –ik is habituated in the speech of Najdi female speakers with the recurrent verbal exchanges in their face to- face- interaction with urban Hijazi women. On the other hand, since Najdi men are less likely to be involved in frequent face-to face verbal exchanges with urban Hijazi women, the habituation of the urban Hijazi variant in their speech takes longer and depends on the rate of the occurrence of –ik in the speech of their mothers\caregivers.

Table 6. *Use of post-consonantal variants by gender*

	C\-[ts] %	C\-[ik] %	C\-[ki] %
Male	28	43	29
Female	19	70	11
	t-test=0.384, p = 0.703	t-test=-1.832, p = 0.073	t-test=2.424, p = 0.019

Figure (7) below shows that in the postvocalic environment men use more of the target variant V\-ki than women; however this difference is not statistically significant (P< P<0.975). The figure also indicates that women are better at accommodating to the urban Hijazi variety by using less of the traditional variant [ts] and they are more innovative by using the new form –k.

7.2.5. *VV\ -[k]*

It is noticeable that the intermediate form VV\[-k] is only used by women in this sample.

In this section I will attempt an explanation for the emergence of the intermediate form VV\-[k]. There are indications in the data that the use of the intermediate variant VV\ –k may not be the result of the outcome of the contact between the Najdi and the urban Hijazi speakers. Rather, it might be the outcome of the process of levelling affecting the Najdi dialect in the urban centres of the Najed region.

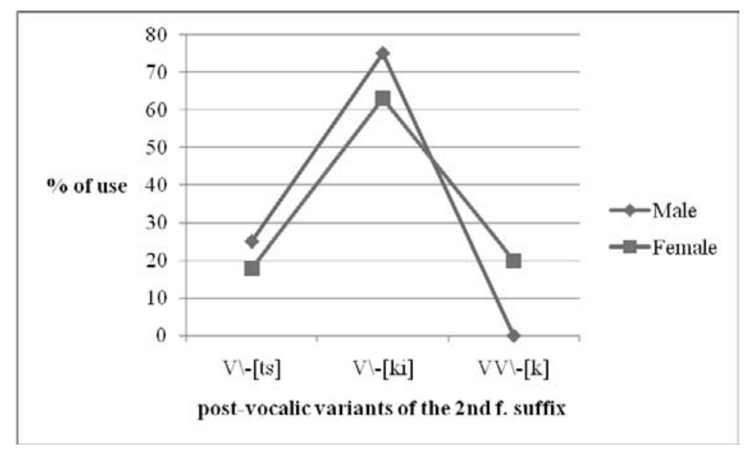


Figure 7. Use of post-vocalic variants by gender

This assumption is based on the data obtained from 13 female speakers (25% of the sample) who used this innovative form. It is found that the speakers who produced the highest number of tokens with –k are speakers who were born and raised in Riyadh. This association between the higher use of postvocalic [–k] and speakers with connection to the city of Riyadh points to the possibility that this variant is the product of another levelling process which originated in Riyadh. It is my argument that the levelling process of the Najdi dialect in the urban centres in the region of Najd is different from the levelling of the Najdi dialect spoken in Hijaz. In other words, if the suffix [-ki] is a viable variant which is accessible to Najdi speakers who have face to face interaction with Hijazi locals in Hijaz to replace the Najdi variant [-ts], it is not available to Najdis living in Najd. Instead, the levelling of the Najdi dialect in the urban centres of Najd will operate as a process of deaffrication, and the resulting forms would be C\-ik and V:\-k. The diffusion of this new variant in the speech of other speakers in the Najdi community in Hijaz may be attributed to contact with those speakers who use this variant.

Conclusion

The data presented in this article show that the de-affrication of [ts] and [dz] in Najdi is sensitive to the morphophonemics of the dialect. The second person feminine singular suffix [-ts] shows a higher frequency of use and considerable complexity in the range of variance than stem [ts] and [dz] .The data show that Najdi speakers are more successful in substituting stem [ts] by [k] and stem [dz] by [g] which is a fairly simple phonetic process. This difference in the behaviour of stem [ts] and the second person feminine suffix [-ts], given that they are phonetically identical and involve identical phonetic processes, can be explained in terms of the mophosyntactic function of [-ts], namely that it carries gender information. To maintain gender distinction and achieve maximal comprehension, the speakers who have abandoned [ts] to mark the feminine gender extend the use of the Urban Hijazi variant [-ki] to both consonant and vowel final words. Another new form to both dialects emerges as a minority of speakers use the suffix [-k] post-vocalically and therefore risk the neutralization of gender in the second singular form. This article also shows that there is a correlation between contact with Urban Hijazi

locals and the de-affrication of [ts] and [dz] and the use of other variants to mark the feminine gender in the second person. The interaction between the social variables of contact and gender is manifested in the female speakers' higher level of approximation to the urban Hijazi suffix forms compared to male speakers. We argued that this pattern of gender differentiation may be the result of the traditional configuration of the social interaction between men and women in the community.

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"BIG BRIGHT LIGHTS" VERSUS "GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND"?: THE UNHELPFUL DICHOTOMY OF 'URBAN' VERSUS 'RURAL' IN DIALECTOLOGY

David Britain

1. Introduction

In the 1960s, there was an 'urban turn' in dialectology.[1] It began in the very important sociolinguistic studies carried out in Anglophone western cities, but soon spread to encompass urban communities outside English-speaking countries, both in developed and developing countries. Today 'urban dialectology' using sociolinguistic methodologies is, by some distance, the dominant and most influential approach to analysing contemporary language variation and change.

The 'urban turn' began, despite a few smaller earlier works in social dialectology (on which more later), with the publication of *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* by William Labov in 1966, in which he lays out not just his proposals for a dialectology of urban centres, but also a number of key theoretical constructs in sociolinguistics which have survived to this day—the linguistic variable, the speech community, inherent variability, style-shifting, change from above and below—critiqued and adapted over time by scholars working on different communities and within different sociological paradigms, but nevertheless still some of the principal concepts of our discipline today. So influential was Labov's work in shaping the emerging field that many see 'sociolinguistics' as being the study of

[1] This chapter has developed from ideas first presented, rather sketchily and incoherently, it has to be admitted, at the "Conference on the Evolution of Arabic Urban Vernaculars: the effects of Migration and Social Change" in Aix-en-Provence in 2004, where I first met Clive. It was his encouragement at that meeting that persuaded me to think about these ideas further, and so I am honoured to have the opportunity to present them to him in a hopefully somewhat better developed form in this Festschrift to celebrate his 60th birthday. Thanks also to Enam Al-Wer and Rudolf de Jong, both for their invitation to contribute and for their patience, and to David Hornsby for some vital help along the way.

dialect variation and change in social contexts (see, for example, the coverage of the subject in Chambers' (2003) *Sociolinguistic Theory* and Hudson's (1996) *Sociolinguistics*). And because most of the early influential sociolinguistic work was carried out in cities—New York, Detroit, Montreal, Panama City, Norwich, etc, urban settings almost became synonymous with studies of variation and change, to the extent that variationist methods—sampling from right across the resident community, assumptions of inherent variability, use of the linguistic variable as an analytical construct) are, wherever they are conducted, often labelled "urban dialectology" or 'urban sociolinguistics'.

But what is "urban" about variationist sociolinguistics? Can it only be conducted in urban areas? In this paper, I want to argue that there is nothing at all that is essentially urban about variationist social dialectology. I will claim not only that its theoretical assumptions, methodological approaches and analytical techniques can all be applied successfully to rural areas, but also that there is no a priori reason why we would expect to find patterns of variation and change in rural areas to fundamentally differ from those in urban areas. More important, I will argue (following Trudgill 1997, 2002), is the nature of dialect contact and isolation (wherever that may occur, in urban or rural settings), which, in combination with the difference (that lies at the heart of dialect contact approaches to variation and change) between child and adult language acquisition, is the crucial factor in determining distinct typologies of linguistic change. Important to the argument here is the fact that contact is blind to urban or rural location—it may happen more often and more intensively in urban areas but is not restricted to such areas.

I begin by looking at the reasons why dialectology, which once shunned cities altogether, abandoned rural areas and turned to examine urban centres. Then, by drawing on the work of urban and rural geographers, I show that while urban and rural areas certainly trigger very distinct images and attitudes in our minds, there are in fact no absolute differences between them—*there are no causal social processes which affect urban areas but not rural, or vice versa*. Indeed such geographers quite openly admit that 'urban' and 'rural' are extremely difficult terms to define robustly. I end by exemplifying the fact that one factor which is crucial in determining variation and change—dialect contact—although often associated with research in cities—produces typologically the same outcomes in both urban and

rural locales, suggesting that contact dialectologists should look outside the city as well as within it, since rural areas too, far from being homogeneous and backward, can undergo the same sorts of sociolinguistically complex processes as our largest and most cosmopolitan cities.

2. Throwing the Rural Baby Out with the Traditional Dialectological Bathwater: The Urban Turn in Studies of Language Variation and Change

The urban turn in sociolinguistic dialectology partly had its roots in a reappraisal of traditional dialectology. Traditional dialectology largely had a historicist (rather than geographical) agenda to examine "the oldest kind of traditional vernacular… which would demonstrate the continuity and historical development of the language and also serve as a historical baseline against which future studies could be measured" (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson 1978). Many (but not all, e.g. Ellis 1889) traditional dialectological studies before the arrival of the Labovian sociolinguistic enterprise tended to concentrate on rural areas because it was felt that there they would be more likely to find the traditional vernacular. At the same time, though, they also tended to restrict their investigations to examining older males, again in the hunt for the historically most early dialect forms. Labov argued very strongly that social dialectology owed much to the detailed work of the dialect geographers, but that in some respects it had to part company (see, for example, Labov 2006: 22):

- Traditional dialectology tended to use fairly rigid questionnaires, with an output from the informants of isolated words or short phrases in response to fieldworker questions; social dialectology recognised the importance of *rapid and continuous speech.*
- Because recording equipment was either non-existent or tended to be bulky, expensive and, especially to the types of informant whose voice was sought, off-putting, traditional dialectological surveys tended to rely on the ability of fieldworkers to remember and instantly transcribe into IPA the realisations of words produced by the informants, and without the back-up of recordings to check reliability later; social dialectology has always been reliant on recordings of continuous speech which can be checked many times and be subjected both to reliability tests across a number of

analysts and to acoustic analysis. Trudgill (1983: 35-41), for example, points to a number of examples of fieldworker inaccuracies in the Norfolk localities of the Survey of English Dialects (SED) and Trudgill, Gordon and Lewis (1998: 39) and Trudgill (2004: 47) argue that sometimes the transcriptions in the SED are simply not detailed enough to be helpful.

– Traditional dialectology was not able to systematically analyse *intra-speaker* variability, whereas such variability has, from the start of social dialectology, to the present, played a very important role in our theorisation of the mechanisms of change and the meaning of variation in contemporary speech communities (Labov 1966, Bell 1984, Coupland 2007).
– Because the fieldwork for traditional dialectological surveys was so time-consuming, many surveys used a large number of fieldworkers and it was often difficult to ensure each one was working to the same script. Britain (1991), for example, found evidence in the SED that different fieldworkers in Eastern England had transcribed the vowel continuum between [ʊ] and [ʌ] for vowels in the STRUT lexical class (Wells 1982) differently, triggering dialectologists using the data later to classify the variation in that part of the country incorrectly (see also Ryfa, forthcoming).
– Traditional dialectology tended to place more importance on geographical coverage than on depth within a particular locality—very often localities are represented by just one (old rural male) person who may or may not be representative of that section of his community in general. Although by no means fully representative, sociolinguistic dialectology has seen it as imperative, if we wish to understand more about the social locus of linguistic change, to draw its informants from a much broader cross-section of the population[2].

So social dialectology made some rather radical advances, and rather suddenly, relative to traditional approaches, and at the same time as addressing these methodological issues, it also, for the most part, shifted its attention from rural areas to urban areas.

[2] Usually, however, social dialectological studies of individual speech communities tend to exclude the under-16s and very old people, with the latter being largely ignored and the former subject to specific studies looking at children or adolescents in isolation from the adults in their communities.

There were other reasons for the urban turn, though. The social sciences more generally at the time were engulfed in the quantitative revolution that was facilitated by new waves of technological advancements, making mass statistical processing of data much more straightforward[3]. These developments coincided with a growing politicisation of social problems centred around ethnicity, gender and disadvantage which were at their most visible and pressing in large multicultural urban centres. Indeed the founders of sociolinguistics all directly engaged with these concerns as they applied to language: Labov in his (ongoing) educational work on behalf of speakers of AAVE; Fishman in his work counteracting misunderstandings about multilingualism and Hymes in his work on cross-cultural (mis) communication.

And, undoubtedly, urban centres were seen as the places where one could gain access to the most fluid and heterogeneous communities, and therefore to tackle the issue of the social embedding of linguistic change 'where it's all happening'—Miller (2007: 1, her emphasis), for example, in her very first words in the very first chapter of a book she co-edited, states that "Cities are *"par excellence"* places of contact and heterogeneity". In the popular imagination, cities were sites of diversity, conflict, contact, complexity, variation, change. Rural areas, by contrast, are portrayed as the insular, the isolated, the static, and in some parts of the West as idylls of peace, security and tranquillity. Since the early days of the subject, the vast bulk of variationist sociolinguistic work has been restricted to the investigation of urban areas, despite the salience of the small amounts of rural work (e.g. that by Walt Wolfram, Natalie Schilling-Estes and their teams investigating rural communities of the eastern coast of North Carolina and Maryland (e.g. Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995, Wolfram 2002); the work of Tagliamonte and her teams investigating relatively isolated British communities in order to establish connections between British and North American varieties (e.g. Jones and Tagliamonte 2004, Tagliamonte and Smith 2002, 2005; Tagliamonte, Smith and Lawrence 2005a, 2005b); as well as my own work in the British Fens; see also

[3] I have written about the parallel developments of sociolinguistic dialectology, sociology and human geography elsewhere (see Britain 2002, 2004, in press a, in press b).

Jones 1998, Kingston 2000, Marshall 2004; Amos, forthcoming; Piercy, forthcoming).

3. Urban and Rural in Social Dialectology

The dominance of urban areas in the application of variationist method is intriguing for at least a couple of reasons. Firstly, social dialectological studies of cities tend not to open the urban area up for a close investigation of its internal geographical diversity, and secondly, when urban dialectological studies are probed in more detail, there is often actually relatively little social diversity examined (for perfectly reasonable practical methodological reasons), certainly no more than one could comfortably find in rural areas in the same country.

Urban social dialectology, with a few exceptions, has, until recently and like many of its counterparts in the social sciences in the 1960s and 1970s, often (to cite the human geographer Doreen Massey) "continued to function, by and large, as though the world operated, and society existed, on the head of a pin, in a spaceless, geographically undifferentiated world' (Massey 1984: 4). Since other social factors have perhaps seemed more pressing than geography—class, ethnicity, gender—and since random sampling has often been used (and consequently there has been a desire to hold all other external factors constant to allow for the careful control and analysis of the chosen variable social factors), spatial variation *within* the city has been largely ignored. Labov's (1966) study of "New York City", for example, was, of course, a study of just the Lower East Side of NYC and, even then, only a part of it (Labov 2006: 104). So space was carefully controlled out of the study, and spatial variation within the neighbourhood (let alone within the city) itself not examined. But this is typical of variationist research in general. Whilst the researchers themselves are usually honest in the text that data come from just one (or perhaps two) restricted parts of large city X, those studies are often then referred to as studies of X, rather than of very small subsections of X.

A few early studies did, however, (albeit briefly) consider intra-urban diversity. Trudgill's 1974 study of Norwich random-sampled from five different parts of the city since doing so 'opens up the possibility of investigating geographical variation' (1974: 22). He

addressed geographical variation within the city specifically in the analysis of (ō) (the reflexes of Middle English /ō/ in words such as 'boat' and 'goat'), showing that in the suburb with areas of newest housing—Lakenham—peripheral to the urban centre, more diphthongs were found than in other suburbs, when social class was held constant. And the important work of James and Lesley Milroy (e.g. L Milroy 1987, J Milroy 1992) in urban Belfast—examining three different sub-communities of the city—demonstrated that the differential effects of socio-economic factors such as unemployment levels and gendered socialisation and working patterns on the three city locales led to distinct patterns of sociolinguistic variation and change in each.

It is dialectologists of the Arab world who have tended to be most sensitive to the *internal* sociolinguistic geographies of cities. As Miller (2007) makes clear, large-scale urbanization in Arabic-speaking countries has been recent and dramatic. Its recency has enabled dialectologists not just to carefully plot the development of koineised new urban varieties (e.g. Al-Wer 2003, 2007), but also to examine urbanization and migration in the context of social and geographical differentiation within the city itself (e.g. Messaoudi 2001, El Himer 2001, Ismail 2007).

In the preamble to the *Social Stratification of English in New York City* –THE key text of early variationism—Labov (1966, 2006) contrasted his earlier work on largely rural Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963/1972a) with the 1966 research on the Lower East Side of New York City (NYC), making it clear that the latter represented 'a much more complex society' (Labov 2006: 3), despite the fact that ultimately NYC was distilled down to the variables of age, class, ethnicity and gender, factors, which, as is made very clear (Labov 1972a: 4-6) are also some (but not all) of the key pivots of social diversity in Martha's Vineyard too. There, in this largely rural community, in addition to a large population of ethnically English inhabitants, residents of Portuguese, Native American and other miscellaneous ethnicities make up half if not more of the population (Labov 1972a: 6), even before we take into consideration a small resident population coming originally from the Mainland and the large numbers of tourists who flock to the island each summer. Furthermore, these populations are not distributed geographically evenly across the island, and are, naturally, engaged in a range of economic activities. As the results of Labov's analysis demonstrated, the community showed

considerable sociolinguistic diversity with respect to age, location, occupation, ethnicity, orientation towards the island and desire to stay or leave (1972a: 22, 25, 26, 30, 32, 39). In terms of social and linguistic structure, Martha's Vineyard hardly fits the rural stereotype of quiet and sleepy pastoralism, or of traditional dialectological NORMs, as Labov so succinctly showed. By contrasting a highly rural area with a highly urban one, Labov's work demonstrated that there are large-scale social(-linguistic) processes which are perhaps most obviously and vividly expressed in cities but are not confined politically, sociologically or epistemologically to an urban context.

4. The Geography of Urban and Rural

Human geographers have, for some time, argued that, although the terms 'urban' and 'rural' conjure up very clear and distinct images, there are no qualitative absolute differences between the two, the two are very difficult to define, neither demonstrates internal homogeneity, yet both can show very remarkable similarities with each other in some domains. The main argument is that while there may be tendencies for urban areas to show certain social, economic, geographical, historical characteristics more frequently/intensively etc than rural areas, all of these are quantitative tendencies rather than absolute differences, and are simply triggered by causal processes which have had spatially uneven consequences, thereby affecting urban areas more than rural. This has led some of the most highly regarded sociologists and geographers of our time to be really rather forthright and unequivocal in their dismissal of *rural* versus *urban* as a distinction of major theoretical importance:

> "Today, the social distinctions between city and country have dissolved" (Harris 1983: 101)… [Defending the distinction between urban and rural on the grounds of convenience—DB] "encourages us to believe that the term urban might explain something. To the contrary. …In its spatial sense 'urban' adds nothing to our understanding of proximity and its effects as they vary in intensity over space. This conclusion offers new support to the emerging consensus that, when applied to the present, 'urban' explains nothing. If the ghost has not yet been laid, there is now another nail in the coffin (Ibid.: 104)

> "It is my contention…that with the development of capitalism, the city has ceased to be a sociologically significant unit in Western societies

> (Saunders 1985: 76).... There can be no social theory of the city in contemporary industrial capitalist societies" (Ibid.: 79).
>
> "The development of capitalism has not led to the consolidation of the institutions of the city, but rather to its eradication as a distinct social form" (Giddens 1981: 148).
>
> "In *everyday* usages, terms like 'city' and 'town' are unproblematic and convey clear spatial images of built-up areas and hence the form is intrinsic to the definition....Theoretical analyses of capitalist urbanisation have shown that there is no material basis for this definition; the relations and activities found in such areas are not unique to them and so what seems analytic and necessary in everyday thought is shown to be synthetic and contingent by theory" (Sayer 1985: 58, emphasis in original)
>
> "The broad category 'rural' is obfuscatory, whether the aim is description or theoretical evaluation, since intra-rural differences can be enormous and rural-urban similarities sharp (Hoggart 1990: 245)...the designation 'rural' is for many researchers merely a symbol of interest in small settlements or in particular kinds of economic activity: it is not a statement about unique causal properties (Ibid.: 246)... In effect, rural researchers have been focussing their attention on the outfield, with too little appreciation that the same rules of engagement apply in the penalty box (Ibid.: 246)...I do not mean by this that there are no differences between (most) rural and urban places, but rather that, in the main, these are generated by the uneven presence of some known causal factor X, as opposed to either rurality or urbanity. The obvious follow-up point is that for theory to progress we should focus on X" (Ibid.: 251).

While rural and urban sociology and geography have still survived as robust disciplines of academic enquiry since the theoretical turns voiced by these statements, they have done so on a more secure footing, investigating both the causal mechanisms that bring about social development and change in rural and urban areas, in addition to studying heterogeneity, difference and otherness within both urban and rural spheres (e.g. Philo 1992 and the papers in Cloke and Little 1997), highlighting that rural areas, like urban ones, are composed of heterogeneous communities, of contact, of change, of progress and of conflict) and the social *construction* of urbanity and rurality (e.g. Halfacree 1993, 2003). Furthermore, as Johnston (2000: 877) suggests, much of this work is now carried out under the somewhat different banners of political, economic, social and cultural geography, recognising both that, on the one hand 'urban areas changed

their roles within geography: rather than being the focus of attention per se, they became the contexts within which cultural, economic, social and political processes and conflicts were played out" (2000: 878), and, on the other, that it is impossible to 'identify any specific social process which is peculiar to, or explicable in terms of, the city [or the countryside—DB] as a spatially bound unit" (Saunders 1985: 76).

So when we deal with the terms *urban* and *rural* in dialectology and sociolinguistics, we do need to be careful not to endow these terms with the causal powers they clearly don't have. And while we might quite reasonably find strong tendencies (e.g. for diffusing linguistic innovations to originate in urban areas; for weaker networks to be found in heterogeneous and mobile metropolises; for conservative linguistic forces to be most evident in rural areas, we have to quite simply recognise that these are but *tendencies*. The sorts of strong social networks that are often used to justify rural linguistic conservatism can be present in urban areas—after all, social network models in sociolinguistics, and especially the role of strong networks in language and dialect maintenance, largely drew on research in large *urban* centres, often drawing from the concept of the *urban village* (cf. work by Lesley and Jim Milroy (J Milroy 1992; J Milroy and L Milroy 1985; L Milroy 1987, 2002a) in urban *Belfast*, with earlier studies of network-like groups or communities of practice carried out by Cheshire (1984) (urban *Reading*), by Labov on AAVE-speaking gangs in urban *New York City* (Labov 1972b) and Eckert on high-school students in urban *Detroit* (Eckert 2000)).

It has been widely recognised that rural areas in many Northern European and North American countries have been expanding demographically at the expense of (esp. large metropolitan) urban areas, as a result of *counterurbanisation*—the move of (esp. middle class) residents out of metropolitan cities and into the countryside well beyond suburbia (Champion 1989, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2005, Fielding 1982, Halfacree 1994, Kontuly 1998). One linguistic correlate of this counterurbanisation is that rural areas can adopt incoming innovations *more quickly* than neighbouring urban areas in the same region. One example can be seen in Figure 1, comparing three locations—a village, Glemsford, a town, Sudbury and a city, Ipswich, all in the English county of Suffolk (Kingston 2000, Spurling 2004). The use of 3rd person present-tense singular zero is a longstanding dialect norm of Eastern England (Trudgill 1974, 1998), but in Suffolk is

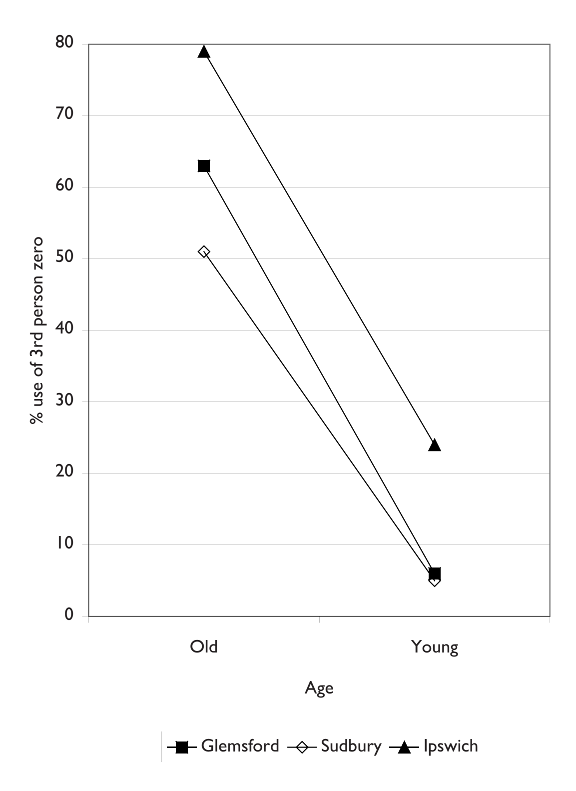


Figure 1. Attrition of 3rd person present tense zero in 3 Suffolk locations: Glemsford (village); Sudbury (town), Ipswich (city) (based on Kingston 2000 and Spurling 2004).

undergoing attrition in favour of the form used by standard and non-standard speakers alike in the more urbanised south-east of England, marking with –s. But as the Figure shows, this decline is *least* marked in the most urban location, a consequence of a number of counterurbanisation and urban planning measures since the 1960s: rural gentrification, middle class flight from London to the countryside, and urban overspill developments in small rural towns, such as Sudbury. Rural areas, given the right social conditions, can undergo linguistic change more rapidly than urban areas just as urban areas can, again given the right circumstances, be sites of relative linguistic conservatism. It is interesting to note that, observing the geographical scope both of widespread dialect levelling and the vigorous diffusion (apparently from London) of a number of prima-

rily consonantal innovations in England, one of the locations that has been the most resistant to the adoption of the new diffused or levelled forms is urban Liverpool, demographically England's 4th largest city, but with a population that has *halved* since 1931[4]. Recent work by Watson (e.g. 2006) has highlighted the divergent nature of many of the linguistic changes currently underway in this large and important city of northern England (see also Britain 2009), changes that do not appear to be spreading far beyond the city's core sphere of influence.

5. The Urban Fetish

It has to be admitted that this crucial point—that the important sociolinguistic processes are at their most visible and extreme in urban areas, possibly, *but are not exclusive to them*—has sometimes not been picked up, resulting in an urban fetishism that still pervades much of the discipline. Worryingly, I feel, in the context of the very clear stance taken by contemporary human geographers, some recent work in geographically-oriented dialectology has proceeded either to endow great powers to the urban, or to project it as engendering a special sort of process—'linguistic urbanisation'—through which distinctive social and therefore linguistic processes may unfurl, as if there are sociolinguistic processes that are *restricted* to contexts of urbanization or urban centres. The most forceful arguments in favour of such a concept are made by the French sociolinguists Louis-Jean Calvet and Thierry Bulot, and the Moroccan linguist Leila Messaoudi (see Calvet 1994, Bulot 1999, 2002, 2004, Messaoudi 2001). Calvet argues forcefully for a sociolinguistics of the city, reiterating on a number of occasions the need to highlight what is specific and special about the urban: 'la sociolinguistique urbaine ne peut pas se contenter d'étudier des situations urbaines, elle doit dégager ce que ces situations ont de spécifique, et donc construire une approche spécifique de ces situations' (Urban sociolinguistics cannot be content to study urban contexts, it must tease out what is specific about these contexts and build a specific approach to these contexts) (Calvet 1994: 15).

[4] See http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data_cube_table_page.jsp?data_theme=T_POP&data_cube=N_TPop&u_id=10105821&c_id=10001043&add=N. Last accessed 17th March 2009.

He suggests that 'la ville produit aussi des formes linguistiques spécifiques, des parlers urbains' (the city also produces specific linguistic forms, urban dialects) (Calvet 1994: 13). But when we probe what it is that is special about the city, once again we come across factors which might be most obvious and immediate in urban areas but are not restricted to them, so:

> "Pourquoi la ville? Lorsqu'on observe les taux d'urbanisation des différents pays du monde, on se rend compte que la ville se dresse à l'horizon de notre histoire immédiate comme un inévitable destin. Partout les ruraux se précipitent vers les fausses promesses de la cité, vers ses lumières, vers l'espoir d'un travail plus lucrative. Et cette convergence de migrants vers la cité a sa contrepartie linguistique (Calvet 1994: 10)….cette réalité plurilingue de la ville nous mène dans un premier temps à trois thèmes…la ville comme facteur d'unification linguistique, la ville comme lieu de conflit de langues et la ville comme lieu de coexistence et de métissage linguistique (Ibid.: 11)…mais comment démontrer qu'un lieu—la ville—et une function—la véhicularité—ont des effets comparables sur des langues différentes?
> (Why the city? One needs only to look at rates of urbanization in different countries around the world to realize that the city represents an inevitable outcome of our recent history. People from rural areas everywhere are lured by the false promises of urban life, by its bright lights and the hope of better paid work. And this coming together of migrants to the city has linguistic consequences. The reality of urban multilingualism leads us, in the first instance, to three themes: the role of the city in linguistic unification, the city as site of language conflict and the city as site of language mixing and language co-existence. But how can a setting—the city—and a function—communication via a common medium—be shown to have similar effects on different languages?).

He answers this by pointing to such linguistic outputs as semantic transparency and the levelling of grammatical and morphological redundancy.

> La ville est d'une part…l'avenir de l'humanité. La ville occupe dans l'espace européen une place de plus en plus importante….la ville est la quintessence du plurilinguisme, elle draine les différentes situations linguistiques du pays…les solutions linguistiques que la ville apporte à la communication sociale ont toutes les chances de s'imposer à l'ensemble du pays: telle une pompe, la ville aspire du plurilinguisme et recrache du monolinguisme, et elle joue ainsi un rôle fondamental dans l'avenir linguistique de la région ou de l'État (1994: 129-130).
> (The city is, on the one hand, the future of humanity. It consumes an ever-increasing part of the European landscape....the city embodies

> multilingualism, drawing on the range of linguistic situations from the surrounding area. The linguistic mixes that the city brings to social communication are very likely to affect the rest of the country: like a pump, the city breathes in multilingualism and spits out monolingualism, and thus plays a fundamental role in shaping the linguistic future of the region or state).

> L'urbanité signifie une accélération des processus de vie, de la mobilité des individus, de l'innovation des structures et des institutions et d'une nouvelle différenciation sociale (Erfurt 1999: 9).
> (With urban living comes an acceleration of everyday life, individual mobility, structural innovation and new social divisions).

> "Nous entendons par urbanisation "…un processus a travers lequel la mobilité spatiale vient structurer la vie quotidienne" (Rémy and Voyé 1992: 10)" (Bulot 1999: 24).
> (By urbanisation we mean a process through which spatial mobility comes to shape everyday life).

Nothing presented in these examples above, though, points squarely to processes which are *restricted* to urban areas: multilingualism, mobility, the 'speeding up' of everyday life, linguistic hybridity—these are typical characteristics of what Giddens (1991) has called 'late modernity', and not essentially tied or restricted to urban areas.

One British example of such an approach is Marshall's (2004) use of urban and rural 'life modes' to explain patterns of variation and change in a rural area of the North-East of Scotland. In it, his definitions of the different modes fall into the trap of associating 'urban' with certain social characteristics which, although possibly stereotypical of urban areas, are not necessary conditions of urban life or impossible conditions of living in the countryside. His list of 'urban' traits included detachment of work from family life, the delegation of child-minding and food production to outsiders, not having to associate with one's neighbours; and solidarity with co-workers against the boss and management. Rural traits include lack of sharp distinction between work and leisure, participation in local clubs with local friends, an ideology of mutual responsibility, independence, co-operation (2004: 42)[5]. His operationalisation of these

[5] Marshall does admit that this mode is synonymous with family farming, so the scope of such 'lifemodes' needs to be placed firmly in the context of the proportions of the population employed in agriculture. Recent figures for England show that just 5% of the population *in rural areas* is employed in 'agriculture, hunting and forestry'

concepts in his research in rural Scotland led to the development of a "mental urbanisation index", using a Likert scale to assess the extent to which people agreed with statements such as: "I notice what people are wearing in Aberdeen. I like to keep up with city fashion"; "I mostly watch TV programmes about city life and avoid nature/environmental programmes"; "I think it is very important to own a PC"; "I never eat traditional meals. I prefer modern/international dishes"; and "A good education, getting on in life, and having all the modern equipment and appliances is more important than quietness and having a good family life" (Marshall 2004: 112). People largely disagreeing with these statements were deemed to have a low mental urbanisation index and those largely agreeing with them, a high one. But quite what is 'urban' about wanting to own a PC (cf. recent research showing that more rural people have Broadband internet connections than urban people (OFCOM 2008)), eat 'modern' food and have a good education? And what is rural about not bothering to keep up with the latest fashion, watching nature programmes on TV, and having a good family life? These indexical measures may well be measuring something, but is it really anything *causally* connected with urban and rural? Here, I feel, 'urban' and 'rural' are being presented as determining characteristics of social behaviour, but are in fact simply proxies for some unknown causal force, and we are consequently actually no nearer to being able to determine what it really is that is actually shaping these lifestyle choices.

Thankfully, other researchers, especially those who have conducted systematic and complex variationist analyses of language variation and change in rural areas, are sensitive to the fact that the urban/rural dichotomy is of less relevance to our understanding of mechanisms of change and are careful to make the point that diversity—social and linguistic—can be found everywhere: 'No matter how small and seemingly homogeneous the community, social status differences play an essential role in shaping dialect differences and can never be entirely discounted' (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998: 32), and there are some early and significant examples of variationist studies of rural areas to supplement Labov's work on Martha's

(Taylor 2008: 123). In Scotland the figure is higher but only reaches 16%, for these three industries combined, in what the Scottish government calls 'remote rural' areas, and is lower elsewhere (http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/08/27154843/4: last accessed 17th March 2009).

Vineyard (e.g. Wolfram and Christian 1974, Christian, Wolfram and Dube 1989).

The fetishism of the urban which continues to affect sociolinguistics is not, or rather was not, of course, confined to this discipline but was prevalent right across the social sciences in the post-war period (Britain 2002, in press a, b). It came under sustained critique from social theorists such as Harvey (1973) and Castells (1977) from the 1970s onwards. Important to remember, in this context, however, is the fact that the very same cultural, economic, social and political processes and conflicts can affect rural areas as affect urban—less routinely, less visibly, less intensively (or of course, more routinely, visibly, intensively…) perhaps, but affect them nevertheless—our job as social dialectologists is to unpick and deconstruct those forces which are causing language variation and change to operate with different outcomes in different places.

6. Contact as a Causal Mechanism

I want to argue here that language/dialect contact rather than urban life or urbanisation is one of the more important forces that triggers language to change in a particular direction. Importantly for the argument here, as I will show, presence or absence of high levels of contact can be socio-geographically located in both urban and rural areas. Contact often occurs as a result of migration and mobility, factors which are often seen as being most intense and most visible in the city. But crucially, rural areas are not immune from such mobility and contact, and the linguistic outcomes of contact in rural as well as urban areas are typologically the same. Drawing from the important work on social networks and dialect maintenance by Lesley and Jim Milroy, Peter Trudgill, in work on sociolinguistic typologies, has argued that levels of contact are able to shape the speed and, most importantly, types of linguistic changes that are likely to affect communities, rural and urban alike. In his book, *Dialects in Contact*, Trudgill (1986) provided the trigger for what has turned out to be one of the most important research paradigms in variationist sociolinguistics—contact dialectology. This approach has not only examined, in a wide range of different languages and social settings, the linguistic consequences of the contact of distinct but mutually intelligible varieties, but it has also led to calls from some

to reinterpret existing sociolinguistic analyses from other theoretical paradigms (e.g. L. Milroy 2002b). Trudgill demonstrates that where such dialect contact occurs the linguistic heterogeneity of the community that has experienced the contact undergoes *koineization*—processes of linguistic accommodation characterised by a relatively restricted typology of linguistic changes resulting in a more focussed variety. The types of change that tend to be found are:

- *levelling*: of all the dialect forms that originally came into contact, those that are in the majority in the mix, and especially those that are unmarked and not socially or regionally highly restricted, tend to survive, at the expense of minority, marked, restricted forms (e.g. Sudbury 2000);
- *simplification*: contact tends to lead to structural regularisation, transparency, and the eradication of paradigmatic redundancy: the variety that emerges as an outcome of contact is likely to have fewer grammatical categories that are marked morphologically, less irregularity, and fewer exceptions than the varieties which formed the input to the dialect contact situation (e.g. Mühlhäusler 1980, Trudgill 2002);
- *Interdialect formation*: contact leads to the emergence of novel structural forms which are in some way (e.g. phonetically) intermediate to the ingredient dialect forms in the mix (e.g. Britain 2001);
- *Reallocation*: here, two or more ingredient forms survive the koineization process, but become refunctionalised, doing somewhat different linguistic or sociolinguistic work than they had been in the input dialects (Britain 1997, Britain and Trudgill 2005).

Importantly, researchers have demonstrated that all of these can occur in both urban and rural contexts, if, for whatever reason, contact has been central to the formation of that variety. Researchers have investigated a very wide range of factors that might provoke contact: colonisation; indentured labour migration; New Town formation; land reclamation; and, yes, urbanisation, but also counter-urbanisation (the following give a feel for the breadth of contexts where contact has produced koineization: Barz and Siegel 1998, Britain 1997, Kerswill and Williams 2000, Trudgill 1986, 2004). So whilst levelling has been reported in urban Milton Keynes in England, it has also been shown to be crucial to an understanding of the formation of the English of the Falkland Islands—one of the most

sparsely populated territories in the world[6] (Sudbury 2000, Britain and Sudbury, in press); simplification has been reported both in urban Amman in Jordan (Al-Wer 2003) as well as in rural Ocracoke off the coast of North Carolina in the US (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995); interdialect formation has occurred both in urban Reading, as well as rural East Anglia (Trudgill 1986, Britain 2001), and researchers have proposed reallocation as the underlying trigger of dialect forms in urban Norwich as well as the rural Fens in England (Britain and Trudgill 2005). These processes may well be more evident in urban locations, but they most certainly are not restricted to them.

Trudgill has argued in later work that communities experiencing widely differing levels and intensities of contact may well undergo different *types* of changes. He has contrasted the types of change typical in the situations exemplified above, characterised by extensive adult and post-adolescent contact of speakers of different dialects[7], with the sorts of changes that occur in highly isolated speech communities where social networks have remained extremely strong and tight-knit, and where residents come into contact with *relatively* few speakers of varieties other than their own. In these contexts, it has been shown, linguistic change tends to be much slower, leading to the preservation of archaic and marked forms, but also, when change does occur, it does so in directions that could be seen as the opposite to the types of change in contexts of contact: complexifying changes, leading to the emergence, rather than the eradication, of exceptions and irregularities, to the development of marked, rather than unmarked forms, and to the grammaticalisation of rapid speech phenomena into (consequently somewhat opaque) slow speech phenomena (see further Trudgill 1995, 2002). Such communities tend to be found in (especially isolated, insular) rural areas, but again are not theoretically restricted to them. So, for example, the well-reported complexifying and conservative nature of Faroese—a North Germanic language

[6] In fact Greenland is the only territory with a permanently resident population that has a population density lower than that of the Falklands.

[7] It is argued that the relatively late age of this contact is one of the causes of the levelling, simplifying nature of koineization, because adults tend to be less successful and less accurate linguistic accommodators and acquirers of non-native varieties than children (see, for example, Trudgill 1986, 2004). Trudgill adds an important proviso, however, to the contact = simplification story, making it clear that complexity can also be the result of heavy contact, but here the contact is in very long term pre-critical threshold situations, such as in the Balkans (Trudgill, in press).

spoken in the Faroe Islands in the North Atlantic Ocean—applies to the islands' capital of Tórshavn (housing a population of 20,000, over two-fifths of the islands' total) as well as to the outlying non-urban settlements.

Too little research has sought, in urban centres, the kinds of low-contact changes outlined above, but recent research in *rural* Maryland may provide us with some clues about the sorts of cities where linguistic conservatism, if not actual complexification, might be found. Schilling-Estes and Wolfram (1999) examined patterns of language change on Smith Island, in the Chesapeake Bay, once relatively isolated but where today more and more speakers from the island are coming into contact with people from the mainland and are moving away to seek better employment prospects. The island shares a number of distinctive dialect characteristics with other offshore islands of the central east coast of the US, such as Ocracoke (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1995): a back and raised nucleus of /ai/: [ʌ^{ɪ}] and a front gliding realization of /au/: [æ^{ɪ}]. However, whilst Ocracokers, for example, appear to be losing these distinctive features, Smith Islanders are increasing their use of them and continuing, therefore, to diverge from neighbouring dialects (see Wolfram 2002: 770). The important socio-demographic distinction between the two communities is that while Ocracoke is becoming a popular destination for short and long term residence by non-islanders (causing dialect contact), few people are moving onto Smith Island and many are leaving, resulting in a concentration of the dialect in the mouths of the few that remain (dialect isolation). Depopulation is a characteristic which Smith Island shares, perhaps surprisingly, with a number of large urban centres of Western Europe. In the UK these include, for example, the North-Western urban centres of Liverpool (which, as was mentioned earlier, saw its population *halve* between 1931 and 2001) (population today around 435000), Manchester (population also halved since 1931, now at around 392000) and Burnley in Lancashire (population decline of one third since 1911, now at around 90000). In the context of the present discussion, it is interesting to note that Burnley is one of only a very few urban centres of the North-West to retain rhoticity—lost in much of the rest of England—and that Liverpool has quite robustly defended a number of accent forms which mark it as divergent from other parts of the North-West of the country, forms some of which appear to have their genesis in the immigration and demographic expansion of the city

in the 19th century, e.g. TH stopping, NURSE-SQUARE merger on [ɛː], and the frication of stops (see, for example, Honeybone 2007, Watson 2006). As Oswalt and Rieniets (2006: 6) state, however, counter to Calvet's claims noted earlier:

> "between 1950 and 2000, more than 350 large cities experienced… significant declines in population. In the 1990s, more than a quarter of the world's large cities shrank. Their number is continually increasing, even though urban growth will continue to dominate in decades to come. An end is in sight, however: somewhere between 2070 and 2100, the world population is expected to reach its zenith, with the process of urbanization largely coming to a close".

The linguistic consequences of urban shrinking in the longer term will be for future generations of dialectologists to explore, but the glimpses we get from examining depopulating cities today suggest that it will not just be rural areas that may provide homes for linguistic conservatism.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I've argued that concepts of 'rural' and 'urban', concepts which social geographers themselves admit are 'obfuscatory' (Hoggart 1990), are of little theoretical importance in helping us to understand the nature of linguistic change. This is because there are no causal social processes which affect urban areas but not rural, or vice versa, and no *categorical* social, cultural, economic differences between the two. Complex patterns of sociolinguistic heterogeneity can be found in both urban and rural alike, and linguistic changes can affect both in very similar ways—in contexts where contact occurs between speakers of mutually intelligible but distinct language varieties, processes of koineization can lead to very similar outcomes both in small rural villages as well as in the world's largest cities; similarly, isolation can have the same linguistic consequences in both town and country. Changing patterns of migration and demographic change in Western societies will mean that rural areas will increasingly become sites of linguistic contact and conflict, though the outcomes of that contact may well be rather familiar to those used to examining our larger cities.

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THE VARIABLE (H) IN DAMASCUS: ANALYSIS OF A STABLE VARIABLE

Hanadi Ismail

1. Introduction

Variation in the presence of (h) in the 3rd person feminine and plural suffixes is a distinctive urban feature of the Syro-Lebanese dialects of the Levant. Descriptions of other dialects of Arabic indicate that this feature is also present in the Ḥijāzi dialect of Mecca in Saudi Arabia and in the *qultu* dialects of Iraq (Ingham 1971, Owens, personal communication). Data and examples available from the Arabic dialects of Africa and Uzbekistan, where Arabic is spoken as a minority language, also show that (h) is subject to variation in the pronominal suffixes in these dialects. In the Standard variety, i.e. Classical Arabic, /h/ is invariably present in the pronominal suffixes; that is in the 3rd person masculine, feminine and both the feminine plural and the masculine plural suffixes. In the case of Damascus Arabic, variability in the presence or absence of [h] in the dialect is known to have existed for over a century. Descriptions of the Syrian dialects, the earliest of which dates back to 1901, when Damascus was the metropolis of Greater Syria (present day Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine), refer to the co-occurrence of two forms of the suffixes: /-ha/, /-hon/ and /-a/, /-on/; i.e. either with [h] or with Ø. Despite being identified as a variable feature in Damascus for over a century, (h) has not been investigated as a sociolinguistic variable in the dialect, and in fact not in any of the aforementioned dialects.

This paper is a sociolinguistic investigation of the variable (h) in the pronominal suffixes in the dialect of Damascus. The variation concerns the presence or absence of the variant [h] in the 3rd person feminine suffix /-ha/ and the plural, feminine and masculine, suffix /-hon/. The analysis is based on a speech sample taken from two localities in the city: an inner-city traditional quarter and a suburban district. The theoretical and methodological frameworks of the study take into account the urban extensions of the metropolitan city and

the need to use a joint analytical tool which can engage a macro and micro approaches simultaneously in the analysis of the socio-economic structure of the city's communities. The interpretation and discussion of the results make use of the available data on (h) in the pronominal suffixes in other Arabic dialects and of the geographical distribution of (h) in Syria based on the available dialect maps of Syria (Bergsträsser 1915, Behnstedt 1997). In the course of the discussion, the morpho-phonology of the 3rd person singular and plural suffixes in the dialect is examined with the aim of providing a better understanding of the variation in question. An introduction of the variation of (h) in the pronominal suffixes, as it occurs in the dialect, is given followed by an outline of the methodology followed. In the final section, the data and the results are discussed.

2. Background

The earliest description of the variation in the presence of [h] in the pronominal suffix was noted by Crow in 1901. In the beginning of the century, however, there were no political borders in the Levant, and the material available to us from that period does not offer accurate data on the geography of this variation. Later descriptions and maps of the dialect, such as Bergsträsser (1915), Bergsträsser (1924), Blanc (1953), and Cowell (1964) Grotzfeld (1965), Cantineau (1966), and Ambros (1970), Lentin (1981) and more recently Behnstedt (1997), give unquantified data on the co-occurrence of [h] and Ø in the feminine and plural suffixes following a consonant, and [h] and [j] or [w] following a vowel.[1]

In the Standard variety, [h] is invariably present in 3rd person pronominal suffixes. The urban varieties in the Levant, including the Syrian varieties, differ from the Standard variety with respect to the suffix in two ways. Firstly, there is no gender marking in the plural suffixes. Some dialects neutralise the plural suffixes in favour of the masculine form, e.g. the Jordanian varieties, while others generalise the use of the feminine form, e.g. the Lebanese, the Syrian, and most of the urban Palestinian varieties. Secondly, the variant [h] only appears in the singular feminine and the plural suffixes. The dialects of the Levant, however, differ in the variation found in these suffixes.

[1] Cowell (1964) uses high vowels [i] and [u] instead of [j] and [w] alternatively.

While both forms with or without [h], i.e. *-ha/-a*, *-hon/-on*, occur in Syrian and Lebanese dialects, generally speaking in the Jordanian and Palestinian dialects only the h-ful forms are found. The h-ful forms are also characteristic of the Syrian dialects which are akin to the Bedouin norm, e.g. the Mesopotamian type in the east and the Ḥorāni dialects in the south.

3. The City of Damascus

Damascus is the oldest-established metropolis of the Levant and one of the oldest inhabited cities in the world. The population of the Damascus Governorate is 1.552.000, according to the 2004 statistical abstract[2]. The Governorate of Damascus is administratively separate from the governorate of Rural Damascus *Muḥāfaḏat Rīf Dimašq*, which includes the satellite towns, villages and suburbs that surround the City. The suburb of Dummar, the suburb included in this study follows the Governorate of Damascus, and hence the City's population is inclusive of the Dummar suburb. The Old City is located in the centre of Damascus and is surrounded by the *Ghuta*, or the Oasis, and bordered by the south bank of the River Barada. The neighbourhoods of Meedan, Shaghoor, and ʿAmaara are among the oldest in the City and used to be the main quarters before the surrounding villages and towns started to stretch outwards

4. The Sample

The data were obtained from two areas in the city: Shaghoor, a traditional quarter located in the south of the Old City, a generations-old residence to local families; and Dummar, a suburb of relatively recent history of development and a residence to a significant number of the Syrian capital's liberal intellectuals. The present paper is based on the speech a sample of 59 men and women, 30 of whom are based in Dummar and 29 in Shaghoor. Speakers were divided into old, middle and young age groups. The old age starts from the age of 46, the middle age are 30-45, and the young age group are 17-29. In setting the age boundaries, factors such as the span of education, the level of career productivity of the speakers, and the aver-

[2] http://www.cbssyr.org/aindex.htm, June 2007.

age life expectancy of the population in general were taken into account. The communities of Shaghoor and Dummar are presented as the self-employed life-mode 1, and the career-professionals life-mode 2, respectively. Table 1 shows the distribution of the sample according to age, gender and life-modes.

Table 1. *Distribution of the speakers according to age, gender and life-mode*

	Dummar/life-mode 2			Shaghoor/life-mode 1			
	Old	Middle	Young	Old	Middle	Young	N
Male	5	5	5	5	4	5	29
Female	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Total							59

5. The Communities: A Life-mode Approach

The 'life mode' concept was first proposed as a sociolinguistic analytical tool by L. Milroy and J. Milroy (1992). The Milroys proposed that the concept of life-mode can be used to explain language change in an urban context, being a tool which benefits from integrating the macro tool of class with the microscopic variable of the social network. Introduced by Højrup (1983), and subsequently extended in Højrup (2003), life-mode can be defined as an analytical framework which accounts for cultural and social differences in a society on the basis of the mode of production. The mode of production itself is a structure of both economic and social relations, which can be extended to include ideological, political, legal and social relations. Based on theoretical relations rather than empirical data, the concept is used to describe the class and the ideology specifics of a life-mode. Each life-mode has a set of distinctive class-defining practices that are associated with its mode of production. Of close relevance to these practices are the concept of activity, and the manoeuvring of work and leisure times in terms of mean-end relation.

The neighbourhoods of Shaghoor and Dummar are located in two geographically separate areas. Dummar is a relatively newly-built suburb, 6 kilometres towards the western fringe of the city, whereas Shaghoor is an inner-city traditional quarter commonly viewed as the archetype of vintage Damascene lifestyle and architecture. The suburb was originally built by the Damascus Association of the

Professional Guilds and is today a residence to middle-class professionals and the Capital's intellectual elites. It has recently become also a leisure venue for the fashionable youth of the City. Dummar residents, who had moved to the suburb from different residential areas, have developed a homogeneous lifestyle and social character in what can be described as part of a suburbanisation process. Another aspect of suburbanising is manifested in the highly structured socio-political organisation of the Dummar dwellers. Local amenities including basic services and businesses, in addition to social clubs and associations are run through structured elected committees, the majority of which work on a voluntary basis. For the community of Shaghoor, cultural solidarity cuts across economic status. Both wealthy local business owners as well road-side fruiterers wear the traditional *serwāl* (traditional trousers), and share a similar lifestyle and aspirations. The local marketplace and the coffee shop are the social spaces for the locals. This solidarity is shared by men and women of the younger generations too, and is enhanced by locally-based kinships. Although houses are designed to cater for privacy, the space of the privacy extends to a territorial proximity.

A significant differentiating factor with respect to the mode of production of a life-mode relates to a group's approach to the concepts of work time and free time. Along the lines of the life-modes developed by Højrup (2003) for the Copenhagen society, in the Damascus study (Ismail 2008) I have used two life-modes: the self-employed life-mode and the career-professional life-mode. The former is applied to the Shaghoor community and the latter to the suburb Dummar. For the Shaghoor community, which will be referred to here as life-mode 1 (LM1 hereafter), both concepts of work time and free time are meshed together in one activity, namely the market-oriented daily pursuit. On the other hand, free time for the suburban community, (LM2), is used to promote social status and leisure activities (further details are in Ismail 2008).

6. Phonology of (h) in the Pronominal Suffixes

The 3rd person feminine suffix in the dialect of Damascus is /-ha/, and the masculine suffix is /-o/. There is no gender marking for the plural suffix /-hon/. The suffix can affix to verbs, nouns, prepositions, adverbs and to complementisers introducing subordinate clauses, as demonstrated below.

Table 2. *The 3rd person pronominal suffixes in the dialect of Damascus*

	ing. fem.	Sing. masc.	Pl. (fem. & masc.)
Verbs	ʃəfət-ha *I saw-her*	ʃəft-ɔ *I saw-him*	ʃəfət-hɔn *I saw-them*
Nouns	ʔəm-ha mother-her *her mother*	ʔəmm-ɔ mother-his *his mother*	ʔəm-hɔn mother-their *their mother*
Prepositions	mən-ha from-her *from her*	mənn-ɔ from-him *from him*	mən-hɔn from-them *from them*
Adverbs	taħᵊt-ha below-her *below her*	taħt-ɔ below-him *below him*	taħət-hɔn below-them *below them*
Complementiser	laʔan-ha because-she *because she*	laʔann-ɔ because-he *because he*	laʔan-hɔn because-they *because they*

The suffix can follow a consonant or a vowel, as the following examples illustrate:

	sg. fem.	pl. (fem. & masc.)	sg. masc.
Following a consonant:	maʕ-ha *with her*	maʕ-hɔn *with them*	maʕɔ *with him*
Following a vowel:	fi:-ha *she can*	fi:-hɔn *they can*	fijɔ *he can*

Variation of (h) in this study concerns the presence of [h] and its absence in the feminine and the plural suffixes /-ha/ and /-hon/ respectively. When /h/ is followed by a consonant, it alternates with Ø; as in /tja:bha/ and /tja:ba/ *her clothes*. When preceded by a vowel at the syllable boundary, /h/ is subject to phonotactic constraints depending on the type of vowel that precedes the pronominal suffix. The preceding vowels which can occur before the suffix are high front long vowel /i:/, high back long vowel /u:/, mid front long vowel /e:/ (which occurs in a limited number of words), and long low vowel /a:/. When /h/ is preceded by /i:/, it alternates with the palatal glide [j],and the vowel is shortened to [i]. Examples of this are listed under (1) below.

1. /mnəħki:ha/ ⇒ /mnəħkija/ *we say it*
   /mnəʃwi:hɔn/ ⇒ /mnəʃwijɔn/ *we grill them*

When /h/ is preceded by /u:/, it alternates with the bilabial glide [w], as in:

2. /ʃa:fu:ha/ ⇒
   /ʃabu:hɔn/ ⇒ /ʃabuwɔn/ *their father*

The [j] and [w] can be geminated in compensation for the loss of vowel length, as the examples below show.

3. /ʃi:li:ha/ ⇒ /ʃi:lijja/ *take it off!*
   /ʃi:mi:hɔn/ ⇒ /ʃi:mijjɔn/ *take them away!*

The insertion of the glide is clearly related to the emergence of the hiatus position as a result of the deletion of [h] in the suffix. The syllable phonology in the dialect does not allow a vowel initial syllable, as in 4.

4. /ax.du:.ha/ ⇒ * ax.du:.a *they took her*
   /ħa:.ki:.ha/ ⇒ * ħa:.ki:. a *talk to her!*

The open syllables allowed in the dialect are CV and CVV. The bilabial glide [w] and the palatal glide [j] are the best intrusive consonants to fill the hiatus in terms of phonetic quality. Hence, [w] or [j] is inserted as a compensatory syllable onset according to whether the preceding vowel is [u:] or [i:], respectively, as the following examples show:

5. /sammu:ha/ ⇒ /sammuwa/ *they named her*
   /mnəħki:ha/ ⇒ /mnəħkija/ *we say it* (fem.)

As for the two other vowels which are allowed before the suffixes / ha/ and /hon/, namely /a:/ and /e:/, the data show that the h-ful form occurs nearly categorically after the mid vowel /e:/ as in /ʕale:hɔn/ *on them*. This environment was, therefore, excluded from the analysis since very few occurrences of /e:ha/ tokens occurred in the data. The occurrence of /e:ha/ is limited to a number of lexical items in the dialect. As far as the low vowel /a:/ is concerned, the data show that the /a:ha/ environment is the only phonological environment where [h] is obligatorily present in the suffix; hence this environment has also been excluded from the analysis. This applies indiscriminately to both the feminine and plural suffixes. Examples of the latter envi-

ronment include /ʕɑṭɑ:ha/ *he gave her*, /bala:ha/ *without her*, /wara:hɔn/ *behind them* and /ʕməlna:hɔn/ *we made them*.

7. Stress

Variation in the presence or absence of /h/ in the feminine and plural suffixes induces changes in the patterns of word stress. In the case of the h-ful form of the suffix, the syllable stress falls on the suffix except when a preceding syllable includes a long vowel. This applies to both disyllabic and polysyllabic words alike. This is illustrated by the examples in 6a and 6b (the sign for stress ` directly precedes the stressed syllable):

6a Disyllabic words
CVC # ha: /mən`ha/ *from her* and /ʃəl`hɔn/ *for them*.
CVVC # ha: /`ʃa:lha/ *he took it*, /`be:tha/ *her house* and /`fi:ha/ *in it*.

6b Polysyllabic words
CVCVC# ha/hon: /ʃəxət`ha/ *her sister* and /bənət`hɔn/ *their daughter*.
CVCCVC# ha/hon: /ʃarʃaħ`ha/ *he ridiculed her* and /ḍɑrbət`hɔn / *she hit them*.
CVCCVV# ha/hon: /ṭɑʕ`mi:ha/ *feed her!* and /daʃʃ`ri:hɔn/ *leave them!*
CVVCVCVC# ha/hon: /`ṭɑ:laʕətha/ *she has taken it out* and /`fa:taħəthɔn/ *she has opened them*.

The syllable stress patterns differently, however, in the case of the h-zero form of the suffixes /a/ and /on/. There is no change in the stress pattern for disyllabic words, as it is retained on the suffix in CVC# a, and on the first syllable in CVVC# a, as illustrated in (7a) below. As the examples in (7b) show, the deletion of /h/ induces resyllabification. Therefore, polysyllabic words such as /bənət`ha/ *her daughter* becomes /`bənta/ in which case the stress falls on the first syllable. As far as polysyllabic words are concerned, the stress falls on the penultimate syllable as in (7b)

7a Disyllabic words
CVC # a/on: /mən`na/ /mən`ha/ *from her* and /ʃə`lɔn/ /ʃəl`hɔn/ ‘for them’.
CVVC # a/on: /`ʃa:la/ /`ʃa:lha/ *he took it*, /`be:ta/ /`be:tha/ *her house* and /`fija/ /`fi:ha/ *in it*,
CVCC# a/on: /`əxta/ /`əxtha/ *her sister* and /`ʃəftɔn/ /`ʃəfthɔn/ *I saw them.*

7b Polysyllabic word
CVCCVC# a/on: /ʃar`ʃaħa/ vs. /ʃarʃaħ`ha/ *he ridiculed her* and /ḍɑr`bətɔn/ *she hit them*.
CVCCVV# a/on: /ṭɑʕ`mija/ *feed her*! and /daʃʃ`rijɔn/ *leave them*!
CVVCVCVC# a/on: /ṭɑ:la`ʕəta/ *she has taken it out* and /fa:ta`ħətɔn/ *she has brought up the subject with them.*

The stress in the 3rd person feminine singular, not plural, suffix of syllable type CVCCVC# a is phonemic as the examples under 8 show:

8. /dɔ:`kara/ *he decorated it* (fem.) /`dɔkara/ *decoration*
/mar`ʒaħa/ *he swung her* /`marʒaħa/ *swinging*
/ṃɑṭ`ṃɑṭɑ/ *he prolonged it* (fem.) /`ṃɑṭṃɑṭɑ/ *prolonging*
/mɑṣ`mɑṣɑ/ *he sucked it* /`mɑṣmɑṣɑ/ *sucking*

The phonemic distinction, illustrated in (8) above, concerns transitive verbs followed by the feminine nominal clitic form /a/, whose nominal derivations (an event noun) have /a/, rather than /e/ as their feminine ending marker. The stress in this case distinguishes between verb and noun. This distinction applies to feminine nouns whose infinitives end with a non-coronal sound, e.g. pharyngeals, emphatics and velarised consonants. Nouns ending with a [+coronal] consonant have the vowel /e/ as their feminine ending, such as /fakfake/ *dismantling*, which contrasts in stress as well as in final vowel with /fak`faka/ *he dismantled it* and /`fakfake/ 'dismantling'. An exception to this pattern is the consonant /r/ which behaves like coronal sounds only when in the vicinity of /i/ or /i/-type vowel; otherwise /r/ behaves like emphatic sounds in prohibiting the raising of the final vowel, as in /`dɔkara/ *decoration,* /ʒar`ʒara/ *he dragged her* and /`ʒarʒara/ *dragging*, and /so`kara/ *he secured it* and /`sokara/ *securing*[3].

[3] Cozma (1980), cited in Lentin (1981:102, 103), discusses the feminine endings /a/ and /e/ following /r/. Cozma maintains that the feminine ending /a/, is [a] after [r], when [r] is preceded by emphatics, velars, another [r] and vowels [a, a:, ɔ:, u:, e:, ə]. The only exception in which a vowel preceding [r] raises the feminine ending to /e/, is when the preceding syllable contains /i/, as in /kbi:re/ *big* (adj. fem*)* and /si:re/ *talk (*n. fem*)*. Al-Wer (2000), discussing the raising of vowel (a) in Amman, explains that in her data from the city of Sult, the feminine ending is /a/ except after coronal sounds, including /r/, where the vowel is raised to /e/ (phonetically [ɛ]). The consonant /r/ in Al-Wer's data presents some exceptions; similar to its effect in the Damascus data, it only induces raising and fronting of the feminine ending when the preceding syllable contains /i/ or an /i/-type vowels; thus, we have /ʃahi:re/ *she is famous* (with raising) but /ʃuhra/ *fame* (without raising). Al-Wer maintains that in her Amman data from Jordanian and Palestinian speakers, /r/ generally has a backing effect also in other contexts; for example, whereas the long vowel /a:/ in the

8. The Data

Variants of (h) are coded for two linguistic environments: a preceding consonant and a preceding vowel. Tokens of (h) are coded regardless of whether (h) has occurred in the feminine or in the plural suffix. In other words, the suffix type, plural versus singular feminine, has not been factored in the analysis of the data. The two variants coded are [h] and Ø. Instances of the glides [w] and [j], which obligatorily occur if [h] is dropped after high front and high back vowels, were counted as tokens of the variant Ø. The analysis of the variable (h) was conducted using Goldvarb X programme. Five factor groups were taken in total: the linguistic environment, gender, age, life-mode, and individual speakers.

Table 3. *The coding procedure*

(h) in the pronominal suffix			
Following a vowel		Following a consonant	
[h] /ʔabu:ha/	Ø /ʔabuwa/ *her father*	[h] /ʔəmmha/	Ø /ʔəmma/ *her mother*

9. The Results

The results below are based on the analysis of 3199 tokens of the lexical items in which the variants [h] and Ø appeared. The chart displays the overall results of (h) analysis with Ø being the application value.

Figure 1 displays the results of analysis in general. Results show that the h-less form of the suffix is the favoured variant in the sample as a whole. The difference in the score of [h] between men and women is only 1%, with the men using [h] in 4% and women using it in 5%. Results also show that there is no difference in [h] usage between the old age group and the middle age one, with both groups using the h-ful form in 6%. The young age group, however, have the lowest percentage of variant [h] with a percentage score of 1%. The

contact dialect of Amman moves to the front and is raised in all contexts, the raising and fronting in the vicinity of /r/ is not nearly as consistent as in other contexts (see also Ismail 2008, Chapter 5).

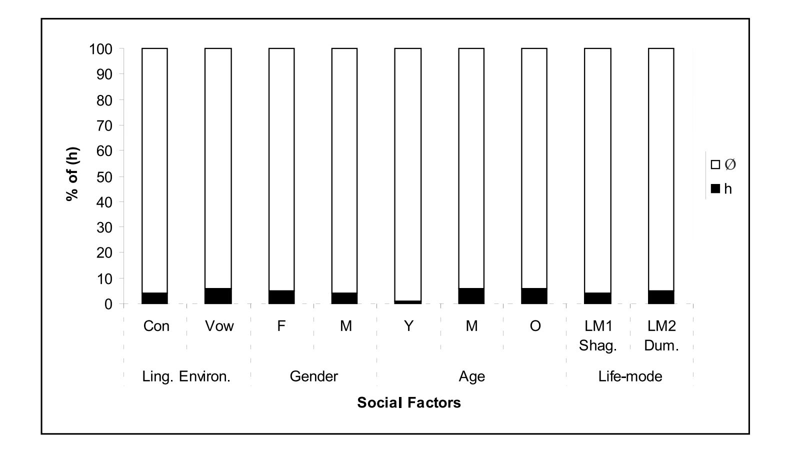


Figure 1. *Percentage usage of Ø according to the linguistic environment, gender, age and life-mode.*

probability of [h] occurrence in LM1 is 4%, while for LM2 it is 5%. With regard to the linguistic environment, [h] is more likely to occur after a vowel, with an occurrence probability of 6%, whereas after a consonant it is likely to occur in 4%.

The cross-tabulation of age and life-modes show that in LM1, inner city Shaghoor, the young age group use the variant [h] in 1% of the total, compared with the middle and old age groups who use it in 6% and 5% respectively. The zero form is the favoured form of the suffix for speakers of LM1, with the young age group being the highest users. The highest scores of [h] among the speakers of LM1 belong to two men from the middle age group. Speaker Q, who used [h] in 23% of the total, runs a local carpentry shop and works as a part-time taxi driver, and speaker U, whose score of [h] is 20%, runs a local family-owned business. The highest users of [h] among women in this life-mode are also from the middle-age group, with scores of 14% and 13%. There is no significant gender differentiation in LM1.

The values of Varbrul weights for age in LM1 show that the favoured variant among the younger speakers is Ø at a weighting of 0.759. On the other hand, the weights of the middle age and old age speakers are 0.372 and 0.402 respectively.

The distribution of age groups in LM2, displayed in Figure 3, reveals that, like LM1, the favoured variant in the suburb is Ø. The



Figure 2. *Percentage usage of (h) usage according to age groups in LM1.*



Figure 3. *Percentage usage of (h) usage according to age groups in LM2.*

pattern of [h] distribution in LM2 is also similar to the pattern in LM1, in that the middle and old age group have almost similar percentage usage of [h] compared with the younger speakers. Similar to LM1, the young group use the variant Ø in 99%, whereas, with a slightly higher percentage than their counterparts in LM1, the middle and old age groups use [h] in 7% of the total.

The Varbrul weighting of age in LM2 further supports the observation that variant Ø is the highly favoured form for the younger speakers', weight being 0.746, and the middle and old age speakers at 0.361 and 0.363, respectively. The pattern of distribution across age groups in both neighbourhoods, especially the stability demonstrated in the [h] usage by the middle and old age groups, and the relatively small difference between the scores of these two groups

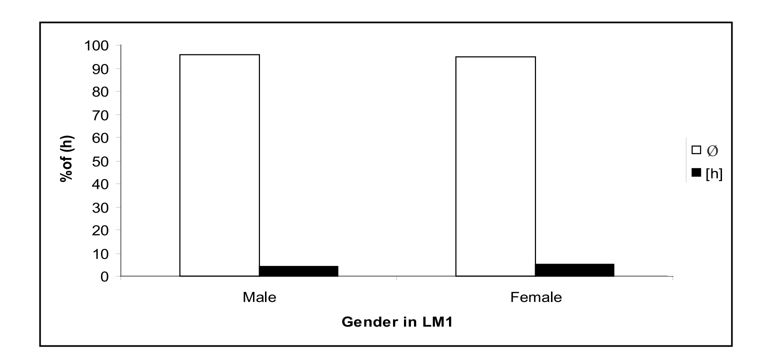


Figure 4. *Percentage usage of (h) by gender in LM1*

and the younger group, suggest that (h) is in stable pattern of variation in the dialect. The high scores of Ø among the younger generation agree with the observation made by Lentin (1981:235) that [h] is less-frequently used or largely "marginalised" in the dialect. This suggests that the popularity of the zero form of the suffix is not a recent phenomenon in Damascus.

The difference between the percentage usage of [h] between men and women in LM1, demonstrated in Figure 4, shows that there is no gender differentiation in the use of [h] in LM1 with men using the h-ful form in 4% and women in 5% of the total. The likelihood of [h] usage for men is very similar to that of women in LM1. Men favour Ø at 0.508, only slightly more than women who do so at 0.493. Gender shows no statistical significance in LM1 at P= 0.879.

The gender pattern of (h) usage in LM2, as shown in Figure 5, shows similar results to that of LM1. Men and women use [h] equally frequently, at the rate of 5%. The likelihood of (h) use in LM2 is at 0.514 for men, and 0.488 for women. Similar to LM1, gender is not statistically significant in LM2 at P= 0.671.

Comparing the relative position of the factor weights of men and women in both life-modes in Table 4, we find that the range of difference between the weights of men and women is quite small. This suggests that there is an almost equal likelihood of [h] occurrence and Ø preference across gender categories in both life-modes.

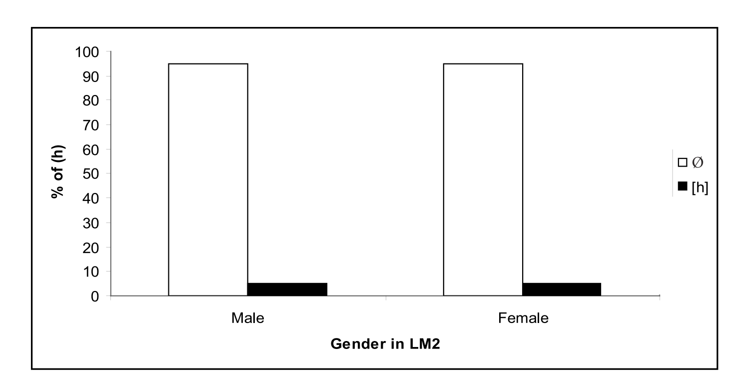


Figure 5. *Percentage usage of (h) by gender in LM2*

Table 4. *Range of factor weights of gender in LM1 & LM2*

	Factor weights		Range
	Men	Women	
LM1	.508	.493	.015
LM2	.514	.488	.026

The Figures above reveal that there is no gender differentiation in the use of (h) in either life-mode. The stability of (h) variation in the dialect, demonstrated in the figures of factor weights and the graphs, support the speakers' lack of social awareness of this variation. When asked whether they thought the suffix is h-ful or h-less in the speech of Damascus, speakers were not aware of this variation. The results of age and gender analysis strongly suggest that the variable (h) has been in stable variation in the dialect for a considerable period of time.

In stable linguistic variation, according to Labov's Principle II, women use a lower rate of stigmatised variants, and a higher rate of prestigious variants than men (2001:266). Labov (2001:270) also indicates that in order for Principle II to be viable women must have access to the prestigious forms, and they must be aware of the social meaning which may be associated with the use of the variable. Variable (h), as mentioned above, does not seem to carry a social meaning nor are the speakers aware of the variation that exists in the dialect. On the basis of the data of this study, the conclusion that

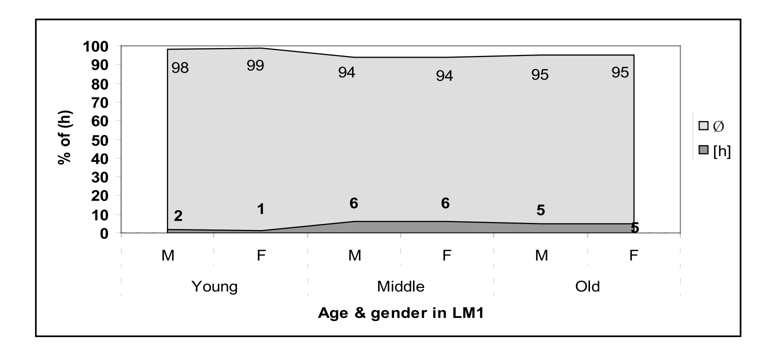


Figure 6. *Percentage usage of (h) by age and gender in LM1*

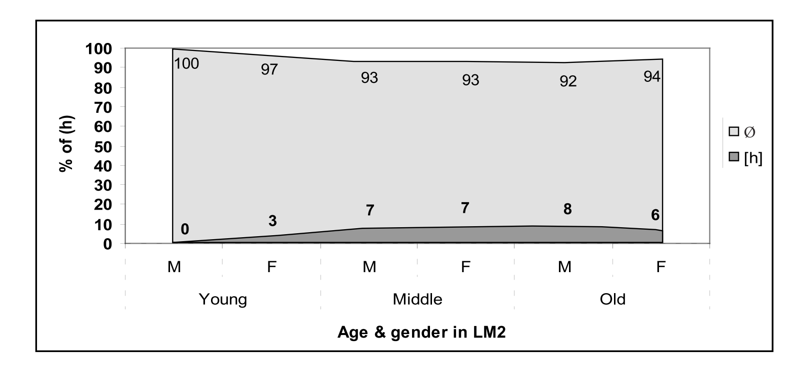


Figure 7. *Percentage usage of (h) by age and gender in LM2*

one can make in this respect is simply that (h) is a stable variable which shows no sex effect. Labov (2001:269) makes the point that not all sociolinguistic variables show a sex effect. It may be the case that it is exactly the absence of social meaning that leads to there being no sex differentiation in the use of variables in stable variation, such as (h) in Damascus. Alternatively, it may be argued that the absence of social meaning is a result of the absence of sex-differentiation.

The cross tabulation of age and gender for speakers of LM1, Figure 6, shows that men and women of middle and old age groups have almost equal percentage of [h] use, namely 6% and 5% respectively.

The young men and women, on the other hand, are the least likely to use [h], with an [h] score of 1% and 2%, respectively. Figure 7

shows the distribution of variable (h) across gender and age groups in LM2.

The percentages of [h] use LM2 are overall moderately higher than LM1, although the values of Ø in both life-modes are significantly higher than the [h] values, with the former ranging between 92%-99%. Both men and women in LM2 from the middle age group have a flat pattern of [h] use at 7%, showing a similar pattern to their counterparts in LM1. There is no gender differentiation of (h) use among the middle age group speakers in either community. In the Old age group, the tabulation of gender and age reveals that men use [h] in slightly higher percentage than women at 8%, while women use it in 6%. The most advanced user of [h] among the old age men is speaker M, 54 year old technocrat, who had a score of 29% of [h] in his speech. Among the young age group, men have 100% of Ø use, while the female speakers use [h] in 3%. Only two speakers from the young women group used [h]; they are a 19 year old university student who used 2% of [h], and a 27 year old female speaker who used 10% of [h].

The distribution of (h) across gender and age in both life-modes shows a similar pattern. The age difference seems to be more noticeable within the young age groups across life-modes. Of the young age group, [h] is used in higher percentage by the young males of LM1 (3%). The highest user in this group is speaker P, who is 18 years old, and having left school at the age of 12 he works in the family owned local patisserie shop. His use of [h] will be commented upon below. The cross tabulation of age and gender shows a statistical significance in both life-modes. Age and gender in LM1 show a statistical significance of $p < 0.001$, whereas the significance of age and gender in LM2 is $p = 0.046$.

10. Notes on [h] Occurrences

A finer examination of the [h] tokens in the speech of high users of the h-ful form of the suffix reveals two points: (i) [h] occurred in the speech of two speakers who used Standard Arabic in some parts of the interview; (ii) in the speech of two younger speakers, [h] appeared systematically in prepositions. One question with respect to (i) is whether the presence of [h] is related to stylistic variation, particularly with regard to lexical borrowings from Standard Arabic. The

other remark is whether the occurrence of [h] in prepositions means that the syntactic category of a lexical item is significant.

I argue, based on an examination of the speech sample, that while the occurrence of [h] might coincide with the use of a Standard lexical item, the pattern of [h] occurrence is not lexically constrained by the Standard variety. Variant [h] appears in dialectal lexical items such as /wa/ətha/ *at the time* or *then* (fem.) and //abu:hɔn/ and alternated with the zero form in similar items. Thus, whether or not an item is cognate with the Standard is irrelevant as far as this variation is concerned

Lentin (1981:235) suggests that the context of 'emphasis' may be significant to the presence of [h] in the suffix in Damascus. My data supports the proposition that in the context of 'emphasis' [h] rather than zero is more likely to occur. For example, few occurrences of [h] as a result of emphasis appeared in the speech of an old woman in Shaghoor. During a narrative in which she was telling a dream, she used the variant Ø in the suffixes. She paused during the narrative to repeat an expression, in which two occurrences of the variant [h] occurred.

In the speech of the second high user of [h], Standard features were used at the beginning of the interview, and were not confined to [h]; in addition to h-ful forms, the speaker also used Standard interdental sounds (rather than Damascene stop/sibilant sounds) and even case vowels (ḥarakāt). However, later in the same interview and as soon as a rapport was established between the interviewer and interviewee, the speaker lapsed into casual speech, consistently using non-Standard features. The use of Standard Arabic during the first part of the interview indicates a style shift prompted by the speaker's expectations and/or her tuning in to the manner of giving a press interview.

A closer look at the tokens provided by two of the relatively high users of [h] reveals that all tokens of [h] occurred in prepositions, particularly where (h) was preceded by a consonant. Instances of the prepositions in which [h] appeared include: /maʕha/ 'with her' and /mənha/ 'from her'. No occurrences of [h] were observed in a preposition where (h) was preceded by a vowel. The preposition /fiya/ *in it*, for example, consistently appeared in the zero form. On the other hand, not all prepositions where (h) is preceded by a consonant had the variant [h]. In addition to /mənna/ *from her*, the Ø variant appeared in /kəllɔn/ *all of them*, /ʔəla/ *for her*, and /ʕanda/ *at her*.

The occurrence of [h] in prepositions was sporadically detected in the speech of other informants too. This included, however, both preceding consonant and vowel environments. The discussion on the variable presence of [h] in prepositions can also be linked to emphasis. In other words, it is possible that emphasis was placed on the prepositions in which [h] appeared. In general, the total number of tokens in which [h] appeared was overall low, as the figures above show, which did not allow for an in-depth exploration of the effect of emphasis on the variant [h].

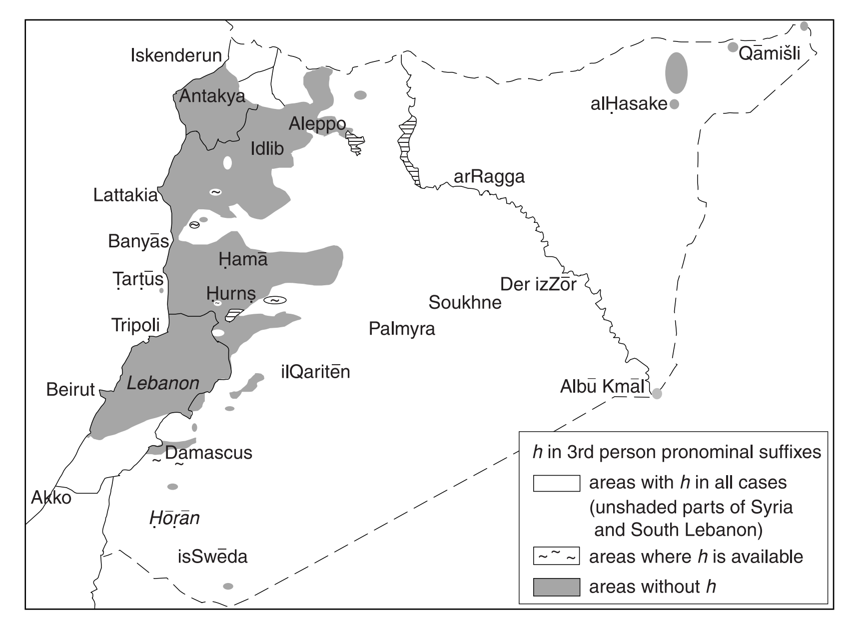
11. Urban Hierarchy Model: The Geography of (h)

The linguistic atlas of Syria by Behnstedt (1997) is the only detailed evidence of the geographical distribution of /h/ in the pronominal suffix in Syria. Map 1 shows that the h-less form extends along the coastal strip in the west, covering the coastal towns and cities of Tarṭūs, Banyās, and Lattakia.

It is also noticeable that the h-zero form extends from the coast inlands to include the third largest city of Ḥomṣ and the fifth largest city of Ḥama. The h-less zone is also prevalent towards the north of Syria in Aleppo, the second largest city, and in the city of Idleb. The h-less form also appears in the east of Syria in the cities of Al-Ḥasake, Qāmišli and Albu Kamāl. Other h-less patches appear on the map in dispersed areas, including the area of Damascus.

The h-variable pattern mainly hovers around the boundaries between the h-ful form zone and the h-less form towards the inland of Syria. More specifically, it appears in between the cities of Ḥomṣ and Ḥama, between Lattakia and the town of Banyās, and around the provincial areas of Damascus. The urban dialects of the coast are h-less, i.e. the 3rd person feminine and plural suffixes in these dialects are /a/ and /on/ respectively. As Behnstedt's map shows, the h-variable form occurs in some of the rural dialects of the coast. The h-zero suffix form takes a progressive pattern along the coastal area, starting from the north of Syria to the borders of Lebanon south of Ḥomṣ, and also throughout Lebanon, a pattern which confirms that the h-zero form is a feature that is characteristic of the coastal dialects.-

The pattern of the geographical distribution of /h/ in Syria suggests that the h-zero form of the suffix has diffused from the urban coastal



Map 1. The geographical distribution of (h) in Syria (reproduced by Peter Behnstedt)

dialects to inland locations in a fashion that shows the "urban hierarchical pattern" (Chambers & Trudgill 1980, Britain 2002). According to the urban hierarchy diffusion model, a linguistic innovation can hop from city to city, before it affects nearer by smaller towns or villages. This model does not replace the spatial model which simply predicts that innovations which originate in a particular locality will spread to nearby localities before they affect farther away regions; rather it refines it, by incorporating the factors of the size of the locality (and hence demography), and contact (see Chambers and Trudgill 1980, and Trudgill 1986). Applied to Syria with respect to /h/ in the pronominal suffixes, the urban hierarchy model would predict the following scenario. The dialects along the Syrian coast (possibly including the Lebanese dialects) characteristically had no [h] in the pronominal suffixes, contrasting thereby with the inland dialects which maintained [h]. At some stage, the coastal feature diffused to inland locations, affecting not only relatively nearby large urban centres, such as Ḥomṣ, Ḥama and Aleppo, but also much

farther away urban areas which are located in the heartland of h-ful areas, such as Al-Ḥasake, Qāmišli and Albu Kamāl. The rural areas around these cities, and those nearer to the coastal cities, such as the hundreds of villages in Horan and all of the rural locations east of Aleppo, do not seem to have been affected by this diffusion; rather, the feature hopped from one large urban centre onto another before it affected or without affecting nearby rural locations. With respect to the dialect of Damascus, the evidence available suggests that the dialect has been predominantly h-zero, or variable with respect to this feature for at least a century. The location of Damascus on the border between h-zero and h-ful dialects would predict that h-ful forms have existed alongside the more dominant h-zero form. On the basis of the frequency of occurrence of the two variants in Damascus, namely that overall [h] occurs in less than 10% of the time, it is reasonable to suggest that the children acquire an h-zero system first, and that they learn later on through exposure to other speakers, and possibly to the written form, that [h] can be inserted in certain contexts. It is also reasonable to suggest that the city of Damascus has itself become a focus for the diffusion of h-zero forms to surrounding Ḥorāni villages, given the fact that historically the dialects of Horan maintain the [h], and some of them show variation with respect to this feature according to Behnstedt. It may be worth noting in this context that the Ḥorāni city and village dialects on the Jordanian side, such as the dialects of the cities of Ajloun, Irbid and Ramtha, are firmly h-ful dialects (Enam Al-Wer, pc.).

Conclusion

This article presents fresh sociolinguistic analysis of an old linguistic variable. The statistical analysis provides evidence in real time that both the h-ful form and the zero form of the suffix have been in stable variation in the dialect for a considerable period of time. On the basis of these results, it is possible to make two conclusions. (i) In the dialect of Damascus, the zero form is (or has become, see below) the primary form; the [h] form is derived by a phonological rule: [h] is inserted obligatorily in hiatus positions (specifically following /a:/). The forms *ha/hon*, although occur with [h] only marginally in the dialect, are also invariably found, perhaps as fossilised cases, in lexical items such as /ʕal:eha/ *on her*, /ʕale:hon/ *on them* (fem). On the basis

of the low frequency of occurrence across the population, regardless of the social factors, it may be hypothesised that the children acquire an h-less system and formulate a rule which inserts [h] in hiatus. Therefore, synchronically the occurrence of [h] in the third person pronominal suffixes can be accounted for by a rule of *insertion.* (ii) The geographical distribution of this feature combined with the statistical information suggests that the h-less form is characteristically a feature of the dialects spoken along the coast; the feature diffused to inland locations as an innovation. Although the h-less forms are found in city as well as village dialects along the coast, in inland locations it is primarily a city feature. While the innovation has reached inland locations as far away as the eastern border, it has bypassed very large stretches of rural locations, a pattern of diffusion which is typical of the *urban hierarchical* model of diffusion.

With respect to the history of the feature in the Damascus dialect over a period of one century, i.e. the period of time from which data, however sporadic, are available, it is of course possible to assume that the dialect may have been h-ful and that a linguistic change has taken place, and, further, that the current rate of variation represents the tail end of the change; or the change simply ceased to be operative for whatever reason(s). Assuming that the heartland of h-less dialects is indeed the coast and that of the h-ful dialects is the inland, as suggested by Behnstedt's maps, it may be stated that the variation between [h] and Ø in Damascus may have come about as a direct result of the geographical location of the City at the border between h-less and h-ful dialects, and/or the mixture in the dialectal backgrounds of the population.

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CODE MIXING

THE VARIETY OF HOUSEWIVES AND COCKROACHES: EXAMINING CODE-CHOICE IN ADVERTISEMENTS IN EGYPT

Reem Bassiouney

1. Introduction

In this article, I examine the discourse function of code-choice in advertisements in Egypt and show how advertisements reflect and influence attitudes towards language use in the Egyptian community.

I will first define diglossia and shed light on Badawi's levels and their significance for this study and then I will show how the makers of advertisements use code choice and stylistic devices in Egypt with examples from my data. On the basis of my analysis of the data I argue that:

(i) the attitude of Egyptians towards both Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) as exhibited in the language of advertisements does not give a full and realistic picture of the language situation in Egypt. The producers of these advertisements are Egyptians, as such they seem to have a stereotypical fixed idea about how different people from different backgrounds, different social groups and with different levels of education use language.

(ii) diglossic switching as part of code switching is used to create an effect on the audience, since speakers want to leave the utmost effect with the least effort on their part (Sperber and Wilson 1986). Switching is used to "minimise costs and maximise rewards" (Myers-Scotton 1993, 1999). It is noticed that speakers use more stylistic devices when they are using one variety by itself (ECA or MSA), and less stylistic devices if they are using a mixed code (ECA and MSA). This is because using a mixed variety is a device in itself. Therefore, if no switching is used the speaker will use other devices to minimise costs and maximise rewards, whether these devices are linguistic or paralinguistic in nature. This is very true for advertisements.

Egypt is a diglossic community, i.e. a community in which two varieties of Arabic—namely, MSA and ECA—exist side by side (Ferguson 1959). Switching between MSA and ECA does occur in television advertisements.

In Ferguson's scheme, the 'high variety' (=H, in this case modern standard Arabic, MSA) is the "highly codified" language used in education, for example, while the 'low variety' (=L, Egyptian colloquial Arabic, ECA) is the one used in everyday situations. Ferguson proceeds by giving situations in which H is appropriate, like university lectures, mosque sermons, political speeches, and others in which L is appropriate like soap-operas, conversations between family and friends, etc. Diglossia in Egypt has been examined by a number of linguists (Holes 2004, Mejdell 2006, Bassiouney 2006). These linguists concluded that speakers in Egypt tend to switch between H and L in the same stretch of discourse.

Following Ferguson, some linguists such as Badawi (1973) and Mitchell (1980) claimed that there are more than two levels. They claim that there is in fact a linguistic continuum. Badawi was the first Egyptian linguist to use levels in analysing the linguistic situation in Egypt from a sociolinguistic perspective, in relation to education. Badawi based his study on the output of the Egyptian media. His classification is both more crucial and more problematic than other linguists, because his labelling of varieties implies both stylistic arrangement and a social hierarchy.

Badawi tries to explain which levels of the spoken language are typical of which types of speaker and which type of situation in Egypt. The levels he identifies are listed below.

1. *fuṣḥā al-turāṯ,* 'heritage classical': this is the classical Arabic of the Arab literary heritage and the Qur'an. It represents the prescriptive Arabic grammar as taught at traditional institutions like Al-Azhar University (Egypt's oldest university). It is a written language, but is heard in its spoken form on religious programmes on TV.
2. *fuṣḥā al-ʿaṣr,* 'contemporary classical': this is what I, as well as western-trained linguists call MSA, which is a modification and simplification of Classical Arabic created for the need of the modern age. It is used in news bulletins, for example. It is usually read aloud from texts and, if the speaker is highly skilled may also be used in the commentary to the text.

3. *ʿāmmīyat al-muṯaqqafīn,* 'colloquial of the cultured': this is a colloquial influenced by MSA which may be used for serious discussion, but is not normally written. It is used by 'cultured' (i.e. well-educated) people on television. It is also often the language used in formal teaching in Egyptian universities, and it is becoming the means of educating students and discussing with them different topics. In other words, it is becoming the medium of instruction in Egyptian classrooms.
4. *ʿāmmīyat al-mutanawwirīn,* 'colloquial of the enlightened (basically educated)': this is the everyday language that people educated to a basic level (but not university level) use with family and friends, and may occur on TV in a discussion of sport or fashion and other 'non-intellectual' topics. Cultured and well-educated people also use it when talking in a relaxed fashion about non-serious topics.
5. *ʿāmmīyat al-ʾummīyīn,* 'colloquial of the illiterates': this is the form of colloquial, which is characterised by the absence of influence from MSA. On TV, it occurs only in the mouths of certain characters in soap operas, children's shows and comic situations.[1]

Badawi explains that almost everyone has more than one of these levels at their disposal; people often shift between them in the same conversation (1973: 93). Illiterates and the less well-educated, however, may find it difficult to shift as much, since they control only one or two levels with confidence. It is noteworthy that, when he defines different levels, Badawi uses sociolinguistic factors like education. Using education as a criterion can be considered a problem in his description. It is not clear whether the colloquial levels are built on socio-economic variables like education or are just 'stylistic registers', or whether they can be both.

The difference between all these levels is in the quantity of MSA used. Thus, it seems to be a quantitative difference more than anything else.

My data consists of 30 contemporary Egyptian advertisements taken from the national television channels of Egypt. The products advertised vary, ranging from motor oil to ghee. I have chosen to

[1] In Egyptian soap operas almost all characters—even the educated ones—speak in ECA. Only in defined situations, like a lawyer in a courtroom, would a speaker use MSA or switch to any of the levels mentioned by Badawi. This has been the case since the beginning of the soap opera market in Egypt in the 60s.

examine advertisements because advertisements are different in nature from other types of interaction: first, advertisements are pre-composed. Second, the time for advertisements is limited, as one pays for each word that is said. Thus, language is chosen to have the utmost effect possible. Studying code-choice as well as code-switching in such a case is of great importance. There are also very few attempts that examine diglossic switching as a type of code-switching in advertisements in Egypt.

An indicator of the importance of language in television commercials is the fact that the advertisements chosen for analysis here are also used on the Egyptian Radio without modification, that is, with no added paralinguistic features. In other words, these advertisements rely purely on their language content.

Unlike discussion programmes on television, advertisements are prepared—there is no element of surprise. In advertisements, there is also no element of interaction between the speaker and the audience. The maker of the advertisement has to predict what the audience want to hear and/or see, and the best way to market her/his product.

In this article I show how code-choice is related to the nature of the product advertised and the target audience. The paper is divided into two parts, one that deals with sociolinguistic stereotypes specific to Egypt and the second deals with stylistic devices.

2. Sociolinguistic Stereotypes: The Variety of Housewives and Cockroaches

Bell (1984, 2001) thinks that a person's style is no more than her/his response to the audience. He not only mentions shifts in style within one language, but he also refers to bilingual and diglossic communities (1984:189). The audience's importance is very clear in advertisements. Since the main purpose of the maker of the advertisement is to appeal to the audience, s/he will use the variety or language of the audience. That is to say s/he will modify her/his language towards that of the audience in order to gain their approval. According to Giles et al. (1987) this is called 'accommodation' or convergence.

The producers of these advertisements are Egyptians. As such they seem to have a stereotypical fixed idea about how different people

from different backgrounds and different social groups use language.

For example, in an advertisement, about ghee, housewives are addressed (target audience), and they are addressed in pure ECA. The advertisement starts with a lower middle class housewife who is cooking and complaining that her husband spends all his time with his friend at the coffee house. A voice in the background advises her to try using a certain kind of ghee (clarified butter) in her food. After using that particular brand of ghee, she boasts happily that her husband now spends all his time at home eating her food.

Another advertisement which addresses 'the working woman' who has no time to prepare the food of her baby is in a mixed variety between MSA and ECA. The advertisement appeals to the educated woman who wants to give her child the best food possible. MSA is in italics.

(1) (A mother speaking)
baʿd iš-šahr ir-rābiʿ/ ṭiflik biyiḥtāg *l-il-ġiḏāʾ* il-munāsib/ *ġiḏāʾ* fīh *al-ʿanāṣir* il-muhimma zayy il-vitaminīt *wa-l-maʿādin* w-il-borotī:n wi *bi-n-nisab il- mutawāzina*/ liʾanni miš xabīrit taġḏiyya/ balāʾī ṣuʿūba kibīra ʾinni *ʾaḥṣul ʿala it-tawāzun* da/ fi ʾakl il-bēbi/ nistli serilak
biyiʾaddim li ṭifli *il-ġiḏāʾ* il-mutawāzin/ ʾadīf il-mayya il-maġliyya baʿd ma tibrad/ wi *ʾaḥṣul ʿala wagba muġaḏḏiyya/ mutawāzina*
(Comment)
nistli serilak *aḏ-ḏāʾ al-mutawāzin fi kull wagba*

(Mother):
"When your baby is four months old, he needs the right food with all important nutrients, like vitamins, minerals and proteins, and in the right proportions. Because I am not a dietician, I find it really difficult to achieve that balance in the baby's food. But Nestle Cerelac gives my child a balanced diet. I just add boiling water when it cools down, I have a nourishing yet balanced diet".
(Comment):
"Nestle Cerelac, the balanced food for every meal".

In this example, the mother uses a number of lexical items from MSA, including *ġiḏāʾ* (nourishment); the first person singular verb *ʾaḥṣul* (I obtain) and the adjective *mutawāzina* (balanced). She also uses MSA phonological features, such as [ḏ] in *ġiḏāʾ* (food), and

muġaḏḏiyya (nourishing), rather than the ECA [z]. According to Badawi's classification this advertisement would be classified as belonging to the colloquial of the enlightened. In fact, the mother is educated enough to realise what is good for her child and to search for the best food for her baby. One can even take 'enlightened' here to refer to a way of thinking reflected in the way she speaks. The question is, would it have been possible for the woman to speak in MSA or ECA only instead of a mixture of both and still get her message through? Perhaps this is or is not possible. However, the advertisement is successful and this may imply that the switching in the example provides the trust the audience need in the woman; she can get her point through by using both varieties, therefore she is knowledgeable. Her knowledge of MSA gives her more status, since MSA is the H variety supposedly used by presidents, scholars and so on and so forth. This is not necessarily a reflection of the way the woman actually speaks at home, but the way the woman should speak in order for us to believe her.

An even more interesting example is the one in which different kinds of people explain why "Mobil One oil" is good for their cars.

(2) S 1: zēt mobil is only for professionals
S 2: zēt mobil huwwa illi biyināsib *gamīʿ ʾanwāʿ is-sayyārāt* wi biyuwaffar *fi ʾistihlāk il-waqūd wa ʿadad marrāt taġyīr* iz-zēt
S 3: wi liʾanni zēt mobil wan zēt *naqī* miyya fi-l-miyya fa *bi-t-tālī*
biyuwaffar fi *takālīf al-ʾiṣlāḥ wa ṣ-ṣiyāna*
S 4: ʾana baʿtamid ʿala zēt mobil liʾannu al-waḥīd illi biyaʿmal bi *kafāʾa* ṭūl il-yōm *xuṣūṣan* ʾawʾāt iz-zaḥma

S 1: "Mobil oil is only for professionals"
S 2: "Mobil oil is appropriate for any kind of car, and it helps decrease fuel consumption as well as the frequency of oil change".
S 3: "And because Mobil oil is a hundred percent pure, it decreases the cost of repairs and maintenance".
S 4: "I rely on Mobil oil because it is the only oil that works perfectly all day, even in heavy traffic".

The first speaker is a male foreigner and he speaks in English. The second speaker is a male engineer, i.e. he is educated and he switches between MSA and ECA. The last two speakers are women of different age groups who own cars, and for this reason, are assumed to be

working educated women by the maker of the advertisement. Therefore, they also use a mixed variety (cf. Mitchell 1986). S1 obtains his credibility from speaking in English. He claims he is professional and English proves this to his audience. Speaker two uses what Badawi classifies as the colloquial of the cultured. He uses a great number of MSA lexical items like *sayyārāt* (cars) rather than the ECA counterpart *ʿarabiyya.* He also uses the nominalised phrase *ʾistihlāk il waqūd* (fuel consumption) which is in MSA. Speaker three (woman) also speaks in what Badawi classifies as the colloquial of the cultured. The last female speaker speaks in what Badawi classifies as the colloquial of the enlightened.

One of the best advertisements I came across, and the one I would like to conclude this section with, is the following advertisement about an insect spray called 'Raid' used to get rid of different kinds of insects.

(3) (A commentator)
rēd akwa ʾaktiv/ bi tarkībatihi al-farīda bidūn rāʾiḥa/ fa yaqḍ̣ī ʿala-l-ḥašarāt aṭ-ṭāʾira/ bi surʿa wa bidūn rāʾiḥa/
(A cockroach to his cockroach friend):
ʾana miš šāmim ḥāga// rēd//
(The commentator again):
rēd akwa ʾaktiv/ bidūn rāʾiḥa/ faʿʿāl/ wa yuzīl fi-l-ḥāl min jonson maṣr.

(Commentator)
"Raid Aqua Active with its unique odourless formula kills all flying insects swiftly and with no smell".
(A cockroach to his cockroach friend):
"I can't smell anything…….Raid!" (they both die)
(Commentator)
"Raid Aqua Active without smell is effective and kills instantly from Johnson, Egypt".

The male commentator uses MSA, what Badawi calls 'contemporary classical' while the male cockroach utters his last words, unsurprisingly in Egyptian colloquial Arabic, what Badawi calls 'colloquial of the illiterates'. The cockroach says to his friend:

ʾana miš šāmim ḥāga// rēd//
"I can't smell anything…….Raid!"

The cockroach uses ECA negation with the ECA participle form ʾana miš šāmim (I not smell). So, is ECA the variety of housewives and cockroaches? Fortunately for us, the answer to this question is no.

This brings us back to Badawi's levels. Badawi also distinguished people according to the quantity of MSA used. Advertisement makers do the same thing. They associate MSA with education, working women, even wealth, while ECA is the trivial variety used by the cockroach in the example above. I believe the preconception that advertisement makers have about language use is not realistic, for we have data of very educated people speaking in what Badawi terms "colloquial of the illiterates" (cf. Bassiouney 2006). In fact, I have a recording of a university lecture in ECA (cf. Reem Bassiouney 2006). Likewise, the former president of Egypt, Nasser, was capable of holding a speech in pure MSA, pure ECA or a mixed variety to achieve a cognitive effect on his audience (cf. Holes 1995). Unlike Badawi (1995:38), I do not think advertisements reflect real language situations. They rather reflect misconceptions about language use. These misconceptions are shared by many Egyptians and this may explain the success of these advertisements.

3. Diglossic Switching as Part of Code Switching: Minimise Costs and Maximise Rewards

Diglossic switching as part of code switching has one significant characteristic: it is used as a linguistic devise to create an effect on the listener or audience. In other words, speakers use language to create a cognitive effect (Sperber and Wilson 1985). According to Myers-Scotton (1997) switching is used to minimise cost and maximise the rewards of the speaker, i.e. the speaker wants to achieve the utmost effect on his/her audience with the least effort on his/her part. Therefore, if no switching is used, the speaker will use other devices to minimise costs and maximise rewards, whether these devices are linguistic or paralinguistic in nature. This is very true for advertisements. An advertisement which is in a mixed variety does not have singing, dancing, different scenes or stylistic devices. In Advertisements which are in pure ECA, there are usually pretty girls singing or dancing, or a narrative (see example 5). In advertisements in pure MSA there are usually more stylistic devices, repetition, parallelism, overuse of co-ordination, etc. (cf. Johnson 1990; Fakhri 1999; Aitchison

2007). Consider the following example in which repetition is in italics:

(4) munḏu ʿāmi ʾalf wa ṯumnumiʾati wa ṯamānīna/ wa ḥatta al-ʾān/ tataʿāqabu il-ʾagyāl/ wa tatalāḥaqu al-ʾaḥdāṯ/ wa dāʾiman kāna ʾadāʾuna mutamayyizan/ fi qimmat al-ʾiqtiṣād il-qawmī/ *miʾa wa ṯamāniyat ʿašara ʿāman mina-l-xibra/* fi-l-waḍāʾiʿ wa-l-ḥisābāt al-gāriya / *miʾa wa ṯamāniyat ʿašara ʿāman mina-l-xibra* / fi-s-sūqi il-ʿiqāriyy im-miṣri/ *miʾa wa ṯamāniyat ʿašara ʿāman mina-l-xibra* fi taṭwīr al-xadamāt al-maṣrafiyya/ *miʾa wa ṯamāniyat ʿašara ʿāman mina-l-xibra* fi tamwīli wa taswīqi al-mašrūʿāt/ *miʾa wa ṯamāniyat ʿašara ʿāman mina-l-xibra* ʿamalun mustamirri li xidmat al-ʾiqtiṣād al-qawmi/ al-bank al-ʿiqāri al-miṣrī ʾawwalu bankin miṣriyyi

'Since the year 1880 and until today, as generations have come and gone and events have taken their course, our performance has taken a leading role in the national economy. [One hundred and eighteen years of experience with bonds and current accounts, one hundred and eighteen years of experience as the running Egyptian real estate market, one hundred and eighteen years of experience in developing financial services, one hundred and eighteen years of experience in financing and marketing projects, one hundred and eighteen years of experience in a continuous effort to serve the national economy. The Egyptian Real Estate Bank, the first Egyptian bank'

Now consider the following example which is in pure ECA. This is an advertisement about a company that produces television sets. The producer of the advertisement uses singing by beautiful girls, paralinguistic features as well as repetition (in italics) and rhyme (in italics and underlined).

(5) Singing girls:
lamma tiʾūl samsong tibʾa ʾinta ʿāyiz tilifizyōn ʾalwānu *ginān*
lamma tiʾūl samsong miš bass fi baṭnak baṭīxa ṣīfī lȧ wi šitwī *kamān*
lamma tiʾūl samsong timsik rimōt kontrōl wi tinzil boss *ʿašān*
samsung da ṣōtuh *ḥanūn*
la tiʾūl li gitār wala *ʾanūn*
lamma tiʾūl hāt ....samsong

'When you say Samsung, it means you want a television with wonderful colours.
When you say Samsung, you can really rest assured.

> When you say Samsung, you take the remote control in yours hands and start kissing it in joy because,
> Samsung has a tender voice even more tender than a guitar or a kanun (a string instrument).
> When you say give me…Samsung'.

The first three lines have a rhyme scheme. Again in advertisements that are in MSA or ECA there is more rhetorical devices like rhyme scheme, repetition, and so on and so forth. Note that unlike the advertisements which use ECA, in those that use MSA there is usually no singing or dancing. Therefore diglossic switching as part of code switching is used in itself as a device. This fact was also noted by Gardener-Chloros et al when they compared bilinguals' and monolinguals speeches' (2000).

The nature of the product advertised is also crucial in the choice of code. The assumption is that customers who will use banks in Egypt are well off and educated enough to choose the best option for their investments. At least this is the assumption that comes across to the audience. The use of MSA in this case gives credibility to the bank and the investor. Televisions on the other hand, are the kind of products that must appeal to all people, regardless of their education or wealth.

Conclusion

Advertisements serve as an example that demonstrates the attitude and misconceptions of Egyptians towards the use of H and L. The division of speech into levels related to education only falls short of giving a thorough picture of the situation in Egypt, although it reflects the popular conception of the language situation and therefore the use of language in advertisements. However, producers appeal to popular beliefs, and that is why they are successful.

Diglossic switching as part of code switching has a discourse function, namely to leave the utmost effect possible on the audience. The form of language used by the producers has a clear motivation and function. Holes (2004:344) highlights the relation between form and function in relation to the use of MSA. He posits that:

> "In any passage of Arabic speech, whether monologue or conversation, one cannot track, still less make sense of, the moment-by-moment, unpredictable changes in language form unless one is also aware of co-occurrent changes in the ideational content of the discourse and the

> interpersonal relationships of the participants, as perceived by the participants themselves. Changes in the form of what is said are a complex set of signals- the rules of which have yet to be worked out- of these underlying changes".

Speakers tend to use more linguistic and paralinguistic techniques if they are using only ECA or MSA, but if they are switching between ECA and MSA, they use fewer of these devices. Switching in itself is a device used to leave the utmost effect on the listener/audience. I would like to conclude by citing a quote by Joseph Addison 1710. He says "The great art in writing advertisements, is the finding out a proper method to catch the reader's eye: without which a good thing may pass over unobserved" (cited in Aitchison 2007:140). The diglossic situation in Egypt provides a rich fertile ground for catching the reader's eye.

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